

REVERSING ROE ■ POWER OUTAGE ■ REMEMBERING PLIMPTON

NOVEMBER 3, 2003

The American Conservative

THE NEW IRAN

Khomeini is Dead

Can Gen. Clark Beat History?

Israel's Settlements, America's Problem

Exposing the Day Care Deception

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[RECALL]

WIN SOME...

While the recall of elected officials has the potential to turn reasonably well functioning representative democracy into a circus, Arnold Schwarzenegger's triumph is certainly one of the major political earthquakes of the year. The angry anti-incumbent groundswell Arnold rode can hardly comfort the White House; voter readiness to ignore the last-minute character assassination can hardly reassure the politically correct.

We have friends who voted for Arnold and friends who did not. One of the most trenchant (if not broadly discussed) reasons for opposing him was the reluctance to reward a man who is so blatantly a product of steroids. Our film critic Steve Sailer has described Arnold as "the world's most famous biotechnology experiment" and wondered if "take steroids and become a success" is a message that California fathers want passed on to their sons. It's a troubling question, and one that won't disappear even if Arnold succeeds in digging California out of its fiscal morass.

One fact that hardly emerged from the campaign is that Arnold is both intelligent and curious about one of the key policy questions facing the country: immigration. Several weeks before the vote, the candidate called economist George Borjas and asked him to fly out and brief him on the issue. (Borjas's work stands at the center of recent research demonstrating the class bias of America's current policies—a boon to people who are suddenly able to afford cheap maids and gardeners and an assault on the overall living standards of the American working class.) The Harvard prof spent several hours with Arnold and found him already as well informed as former Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson, whose sponsorship of a highly desirable immigration-reform package fell just short in the mid-1990s.



This is unexpected news: intellectual interest by a Republican politician in the domestic policy question that, probably more than any other, will determine the nature of this country in a generation's time. This makes Arnold an important addition to a GOP leadership that has been far too ready to take its cues from the "tear down the borders" philosophy of the *Wall Street Journal* and from business interests that want a reserve army of workers willing to undercut American wages. It's hard not to wish the new governor well.

[NEOCONS]

FROM TROTSKY TO CHE

The U.S. military is overstretched by Iraq occupation duty, where the cost in blood and treasure for the foray against Saddam's fanciful WMD arsenal is beginning to be reckoned by voters. What do our neocons suggest for an encore? Widen the war, naturally. Columnist David Twersky in the *New York Sun* proclaims that the war "to democratize Iraq" cannot be won unless the United States takes care of "fascist" Syria and Iran. (He holds up Sharon's strike at

Syria as a model for Bush to emulate.) Novelist Mark Helprin writes in the *Claremont Review of Books* that Bush did not understand his task was not simply to drive Saddam from Baghdad but to "stun" the Arab and Islamic world, and mocks the administration's "strategic minimalism." Donald Rumsfeld is under fire from the *Weekly Standard* for being namby-pamby about the commitment of American troops.

With apologies to Che Guevara, the neocon slogan seems to be "One, Two, Three, Many Iraqs"—except that Che at least understood that several Vietnam wars would be bad for the United States.

[POSTWAR]

MASS DECEPTION

"Sentence first—verdict afterwards," the Queen of Hearts decreed. Pundits who crowed for war with Iraq adopted a similar line. Evidence of WMDs may have been in short supply before the war, but afterwards, they assured us, we would have proof.

Five months later, instead of weapons we have an interim report from lead inspector David Kay. What has he found?

No evidence at all of a nuclear-weapons program. No biological-weapons program. No chemical weapons. Just a single reference sample of botulism, found in an Iraqi scientist's home.

Neoconservatives are not about to let matters rest, however. They point to passages in the report showing that Saddam *wanted* to develop nuclear weapons and *tried* to obtain missiles that could reach his neighbors' capitals.

What Kay's report shows is that containment works. UN inspections and American vigilance succeeded in preventing Saddam from developing WMD. He was unable to acquire the Nodong missiles that he wanted from North Korea. He could not develop even a rudimentary nuclear program. Everything Kay has found—and, as importantly, has not found—demonstrates that the war and subsequent occupation could indeed have been avoided.

[POLITICS]

WASTED CAPITOL

"Undisputed Champ: White House, Senate, House." Thus boasted a t-shirt on sale at a popular Washington GOP conference this year. On the front was a muscle-bound elephant in boxing trunks. The point was unmistakable: We're Number 1! The only thing missing was a big foam finger.

After such a vaunting protestation of omnipotence, why, one wonders, has it taken so long to pass a partial-birth abortion ban? The American Medical Association has said that this gruesome procedure—which snuffs out a full-term child—is never medically necessary. Even Tom Daschle has supported its abolition. On the scale of abortion controversies, this one barely weighs in. Its supporters are few and extreme. With Clinton's veto pen out of the Oval Office, no conceivable obstacles remained. But Republican priorities, of course, lie elsewhere.

Congress finally passed versions of a ban earlier this year, and the conference report has now emerged. The House approved the final bill on Oct. 2, with only four Republicans—Jim Kolbe of Arizona, Nancy Johnson and Rob Simmons of Connecticut, and James Greenwood of Pennsylvania—dissenting. Of the two formerly pro-life Democratic presidential candidates, Dennis Kucinich opposed the measure, and Dick Gephardt found himself conveniently out of town. Sixty-three Democrats broke ranks to vote with the majority.

On to the Senate—which was to have voted the following day. At least that was the rumor, and the majority leader's desire. But, to his evident dismay, bureaucratic wrangling prevented action before recess.

The ban will eventually pass, and the president will sign it into law—to mark one of his few pro-life accomplishments. Under a constitutional order that would be sufficient. But legal challenges are already in the works. Supporters say they have satisfied the Supreme Court's criteria, but with an unelected body that revels in legislating social policy, one never knows. (Where is the phrase "mother's health" in our founding charter anyway?)

Giddy claims of absolute power notwithstanding, the real fight has only just begun.

[JUSTICE]

FIRST MONDAY

"What most impresses us about great jurists is not their tenacious grasps of fine points, honed almost to invisibility," Judge Irving R. Kaufman once remarked. "It is the moment when we are suddenly aware of the sweep and direction of the law, and its place in the lives of men."

For those previously unmoved by the Supreme Court's reach, the resolution of Election 2000 made a vivid object lesson.

And while the minutiae of opinions and precedents are still lost on most—63 percent of Americans cannot name one justice—the nine who file back each First Monday hold monumental power to affect daily life.

Cases of particular note to conservatives: can students seeking religious instruction receive state financial aid; should a drug addict whose child is born dead be charged with homicide; does the Pledge of Allegiance's "under God" unconstitutionally promote a state religion? The impact of the first two, on school vouchers and unborn personhood respectively, could prove substantial.

Few of the 48 cases—and 30 probable additions—that will come before the Court this year are likely to rouse demonstrators or grab headlines. Challenges to the Americans with Disabilities and Age Discrimination Acts and clarifications of the limits and duties of Miranda warnings don't make spicy copy. And most Americans aren't kept awake wondering how long police officers with a warrant have to wait after knocking on a suspect's door. But taken together, another term of landmark precedents and obscure points will leave behind an altered country—and remind interest groups of all stripes why the next appointments are pivotal.

[CULTURE]

LOW-CUT CHADOR?

Leave ultra-blonde Barbie to her Malibu dream house and pink Corvette. Muslim youngsters have a new playmate. Razanne comes with long-sleeved dresses, a head scarf, and a slightly more believable bustline. "Praying Razanne" gets a traditional *hijab*. Slightly racier "In-Out Razanne" sports a short dress to wear at home.

According to Saudia Arabia's morality police, "Jewish [who knew?] Barbie dolls, with their revealing clothes and shameful postures, accessories and

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The American Conservative, Vol. 2, No. 21, November 3, 2003 (ISSN 1540-966X). Reg. U.S. Pat. & Tm. Off. *TAC* is published 24 times per year, biweekly (except for double issues in January and August) for \$49.97 per year by The American Conservative, LLC, 1300 Wilson Blvd, Suite 120, Arlington VA, 22209. (703) 875-7600. Periodicals postage paid at Arlington, VA, and additional mailing offices. Printed in the United States of America. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 99010, Collingswood, NJ 08108-0612.

Subscription rates: \$49.97 per year (24 issues) in the U.S., \$54.97 in Canada (U.S. funds), and \$69.97 other foreign (U.S. funds). Back issues: \$6.00 (prepaid) per copy in USA, \$7.00 in Canada (U.S. funds). For subscription orders, payments, and other subscription inquiries — by mail: *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 99010, Collingswood, NJ 08108-0612. By phone: 800-579-6148 (outside the U.S./Canada call 856-488-5321). Via the web: www.amconmag.com. When ordering a subscription please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery of your first issue and all subscription transactions. This issue went to press on October 16, 2003. Copyright 2003 *The American Conservative*. Inquiries to the editor should be sent to letters@amconmag.com.

tools are a symbol of the decadence of the perverted West. Let us beware of her dangers and be careful." The government's answer is Laila, a more circum-spect cousin not yet available in stores.

Razanne has yet to make her Middle Eastern debut, though the company is growing, and new astronaut and doctor Razannes are planned. Ironically, this Islamic It Girl isn't the product of a Muslim country. She's American-made, and the 30,000 dolls sold each year go to children in the U.S., Canada, Singapore, and Germany.

[IMMIGRATION]

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

Getting a driver's license in California recently became much easier—for illegal immigrants and, potentially, terrorists. One of Gray Davis's last acts as governor was to sign a bill authorizing the California Department of Motor Vehicles to accept the "matricula consular" card, an ID issued by Mexican consulates to undocumented Mexicans in the United States, as valid identification for obtaining a driver's license. Several other states also accept the matricula, and just last month the U.S. Treasury Department agreed that banks could accept the card as ID for opening up new accounts. This must please the Mexican government, which together with Mexican-American interest groups lobbied aggressively on behalf of the matricula.

By helping to regularize the status of illegal aliens, the matricula is contributing to the steady erosion of American citizenship. It also undermines homeland security, since the card is easy to obtain by fraudulent means. Mexican consulates have neither the will nor the ability to verify the identities of everyone who comes to them seeking a matricula. The acceptance of the card in the United States makes a mockery out of attempts since Sept. 11 to make dri-

ver's licenses and other IDs more secure.

So far the Bush administration has been reluctant to take a firm stand on the matricula, which has angered some members of the president's own party in Congress. The issue calls for forthright leadership: if president Bush favors accepting the matricula consular card he should say so, so that voters next year can judge Bush for his stance on the matter, just as voters this year judged Gray Davis.

[AMERICANA]

FADED OUT

At the height of the California Gold Rush, Levi Strauss set out for San Francisco with a dime and a dream. He started a dry-goods business and began outfitting miners in signature denim. By the time he died in 1902, Mr. Strauss couldn't have known that his riveted workwear would become an American uniform. Neither would he have guessed that his company would be leaving his adopted country.

Levi Strauss & Co. has just announced that its last North American factories are moving overseas—and with them 2,000 jobs. The familiar logo will still read San Francisco, but contract labor in Asia and Latin America will be sewing our 501s.

On the campaign trail, candidate Bush promised, "We'll be prosperous if we embrace free trade." Correction, Mr. President. CEOs will be free to pad their prosperity by scouring the globe for its most vulnerable workers. But the San Antonio seamstress who spent her life stitching an American tradition is left wondering why Mr. Strauss's dream now belongs to Thailand.

[TRENDS]

SE HABLA ESPAÑOL

Over the past decade, the number of U.S. households where English is not spoken at home has risen by 50 percent. ■

CROSSOVER APPEAL

As a dyed-in-the-wool liberal, I was shocked to find myself in full agreement with your cover story of Oct. 6, Christopher Layne's "Cost of Empire." There is no greater testimony to the extremism of the Bush foreign-policy agenda than the fact that a far-left-winger like myself could agree so whole-heartedly with a conservative critique of those policies.

PAUL LUKASIAK

Philadelphia, Pa.

HITCHENS: A DEFENSE

Peter Hitchens's "Zionism: A Defense" (Oct. 6) takes a good and measured look at what Israel is and what she represents for the West. A toxic combination of fear of accusations of anti-Semitism on one side and Leftist preoccupations with "colonial oppression" on the other make it dangerously difficult to discuss what Israel should do and how the U.S. should help. Hitchens does not give answers; as a true conservative, he knows there is no simple answer. Nevertheless, he performs a signal service in cutting through many of the fictions, pro- and anti-Zionist, that obscure the State of Israel's beginnings.

There is much to criticize about the Bush administration's Middle East policy. One of the ironies Hitchens illuminates is that our aggressive policy, driven in part by a desire to ensure Israel's security, has made her position more precarious. If the U.S. is Israel's protector, can we actually believe that invading and occupying Iraq has made it easier for us to intercede diplomatically with the states Israel really has to deal with: Egypt, Jordan, Syria?

The particularist argument for Zionism is one that should resonate with conservatives. It is the basis for believing that not only do Jews have the right to a Jewish nation-state but that the land of Israel is where that state should be. To deal intelligently with Israel, we need

to realize two things: Israel is a kindred spirit in many ways, and support of Israel includes constructive criticism. Unthinking support of the Israeli government is not true friendship. A criticism I would add to Hitchens's is that for a nation founded on a religious claim, Israel is a very secular state.

HOWARD SUTHERLAND

New York, N.Y.

ZIONISM: A CRITIQUE

In his defense of Zionism, Peter Hitchens makes many historically incorrect assertions. Alas, responding to his piece in a short letter is like trying to tidy up a room in 15 minutes after a grenade exploded.

His revisionist history is surpassed only by the absurdity of some of his claims, not the least of which is that Israel places "the rule of law above the rule of power." Whose law? Certainly not international law or anything resembling globally recognized standards of democratic behavior. Israel is in violation of 65 United Nations Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration of Human Rights, which secures the right of return for Palestinian refugees, something Israel has cruelly denied them for 55 years.

The Israeli army has used systematic violence and torture to maintain its illegal (by Hitchens's own admission) 36-year military occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem and to Judaize them forcibly by constructing Jews-only segregated settlements on confiscated Arab land for gun-toting Kahanists from Brooklyn. Nonetheless, Hitchens also ludicrously contends that Zionism is not a form of racism.

In trying to play Perry Mason on Israel's behalf, Mr. Hitchens reveals much about his own disposition. Even though he admits that Israel "has engaged in pre-emptive war and has driven people from their homes through fear and massacre" (750,000 in 1948 and

another 300,000 in 1967), he unabashedly contends that the "civilized world" should unquestionably support Israel if for no other reason than Israelis are culturally like Europeans and Muslims are not.

VICTOR LAMA

Thornwood, N.Y.

FAITH IN FLUX

Fred Reed's "Benefit of the Doubt" and Joseph Pearce's "Graham Greene: The Toil of Belief" (Oct. 6) are thoughtful, well-balanced presentations of religion for a skeptical, critical era. Reed, especially, makes some cogent points when he states that "any ideology can probably be described as a systematic way of misunderstanding the world" and "people who seek (and therefore find) an overarching explanation of everything always avoid looking at logical warts and lacunae in their systems." As he informs us, this applies to "Christians, liberals, conservatives, Marxists, evolutionists, and believers in the universal explanatory power of the sciences." The list could continue and comprise many others, including firm believers in unimpeded global free trade as a nostrum for securing universal peace and prosperity.

Many desire the security of an iron-clad ideology by which to govern their lives. We no longer live in the world of 50 or 60 years ago when this approach was more possible. Constant flux seems to be the order of the day. This situation may be exhilarating, often financially profitable, to the economic elites and some of the professional classes, but it can also set in motion disruptive economic and psychological forces for the less fortunate members of society.

BRUCE PULEO

New York, N.Y.

The American Conservative welcomes letters to the editor. Submit by e-mail to letters@amconmag.com or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209.

Wall Street Journal vs. America

Commentators have lately begun to point up parallels between the presidency of George W. Bush and that of his father. Both enjoyed extraordinary approval in their

third years after triumphs over Saddam Hussein. Both began to slide due to a sickly economy. Both won office on Reaganite rhetoric. But both then left themselves open to a populist revolt by embracing the counterfeit conservatism of the *Wall Street Journal*.

In 1992, Ross Perot tore off a third of the Reagan coalition, leaving George H. W. with the smallest share of the presidential popular vote in 80 years. Were the son to face a third-party challenge from the Right, he too would be going home after one term.

The mega-issues on which the Bushes abandoned conservatism for the Hong Kong values of the *Wall Street Journal* are free-trade globalism, open-borders immigration, and Wilsonian interventionism.

Unlike the patriarch Sen. Prescott Bush, George H. W. and his son are free traders who simply cannot see the industrial ruin before them from a decade of NAFTA, GATT, MFN for Beijing, and U.S. subordination to the Yankee-baiting Eurocrats of the WTO.

But the returns from 10 years of free trade are in. America is running huge trade deficits with Canada, Mexico, Japan, China, and the EU. Manufacturing jobs have been disappearing at the rate of 83,000 a month every month Bush has been in office. Under George W., one in every six manufacturing jobs has vanished.

Is there no amount of bleeding of jobs that will jolt Mr. Bush into grasping that the *Journal's* free-trade fanaticism is denuding his country of its industrial

base and could kill his presidency, as it did his father's?

The second issue is immigration. For years, the *Journal* has pushed to amend the U.S. Constitution to read, "There shall be open borders." The *Journal* wants to tie the hands of the President and Congress to guarantee that the Third World invasion of America is unstoppable. Yet, mass immigration is bankrupting California, as millions of poor immigrants have poured in and millions of middle-class Californians have fled to Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, and Idaho.

Ten million illegal aliens now live here. Their crime rates and social-service demands are higher and tax payments far lower than those of our native-born. As California is fast becoming a Third World state, America is becoming a Third World country. Why is President Bush welcoming this radical transformation of America into a giant replica of the UN General Assembly? What was so wrong with the country we grew up in?

Can the Bushites not see the consequences of blindly following *Journal* ideology? The Clintonites could. They evaded the law to get millions of Latinos naturalized and registered. In 1996, it paid off. First-time Hispanic voters went 91 percent against Dole-Kemp.

The third issue on which Bush II has embraced *Journal* neoconservatism is foreign policy. For a decade after Desert Storm, containment had worked with Saddam. Iraq had not invaded a neighbor nor launched a single terror attack against Americans.

Yet, no sooner had the World Trade Center towers fallen than the *Journal* was shrieking for strikes on "terrorist camps in Syria, Sudan, Libya, and Algeria, and perhaps even in parts of Egypt." This was warmongering. None of these countries had anything to do with 9/11.

After the overthrow of the Taliban, the *Journal* began beating the drums for the war it always wanted and the cause it never abandoned: "On to Baghdad!" Impose a "MacArthur Regency"! Now we have Baghdad and the Bremer Regency. And if Mr. Bush cannot extricate us from this new war of suicide bombings and sniper shootings we warned him would follow a U.S. invasion, he may not be re-elected.

What President Bush and many conservatives do not realize is that the *Wall Street Journal* is to true conservatism what Eisner is to Disney, a cow bird that flew in to sit on the nest another bird built.

Journal editor emeritus Robert Bartley once told author Peter Brimelow, "I think the nation-state is finished." In June, Bartley flew to Italy for the 10th Santa Colomba Conference hosted by *Journal* guru Robert Mundell. Topic: "Does the Global Economy Need a Global Currency?"

"World money, with a world central bank, seems a next logical step," chirps Bartley, who dreams of a New World Order currency replacing the U.S. dollar. Yet, as Margaret Thatcher told this writer, a nation that gives up its currency gives up its sovereignty and independence.

Time to say it: Loyalty to the New World Order is treason to the Republic. But why is Bush blindly following the counsel of faux conservatives leading him down a path that ends in the abolition of America? Why, Mr. President? ■

[khomeini is dead]

The New Iran

Piercing the Veil of Anti-Americanism

By John Laughland

TEHRAN—A rumpling of eyebrows and a forest of quizzical expressions greeted me as I took off my shoes to enter the *madrassa*. There are plenty of visitors at the modestly housed Islamic school—of which there are scores in the holy Iranian city of Qom, home to some 40,000 students of Muslim thought and teaching—but a foreign journalist is a rare sight. “An audience with the Grand Ayatollah?” people asked, “He does not give interviews. And certainly not on political subjects.” But the Oriental rules of hospitality prevailed, and I was an esteemed if unannounced foreign guest. So the confused frowns quickly gave way to gentle smiles, and I followed a host of white turbans and the swish of black robes into the small room where the Grand Ayatollah held court.

The floor was covered with carpets, as in a mosque, for a *madrassa* is a place of both study and prayer. Seated around the floor, their backs propped up against the walls, were mullahs and young men in lay dress—boys, even—the various colors of their skin betraying their distant origins. Their eyes gleamed with interest and kindness as they silently

pressed their right palms against their breasts, bowing their heads in the Muslim gesture of greeting. Seated in a corner, the only person in a chair was the Grand Ayatollah himself, 85 years old, sprightly, and with a long white beard that jabbed up and down as he talked eagerly. He received me graciously, and I took my place on the floor beside the others.

Hierarchically speaking, this is the equivalent of walking into St. Peter’s, saying you are from the *Tehran Times*, and getting an immediate audience with a cardinal. Grand Ayatollah al-Uzma al-Hajj ash-Shaykh Luftullah as-Safi al-Gulpauyngani is not only one of the 50 top clerics in a state run by clerics, he is also a former Secretary General of the Council of Guardians, the supreme religious and political body in the Islamic Republic and a former close colleague of the leader of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini. The son of an Ayatollah himself, Gulpauyngani was born in 1337 (or 1917, as we would call it), and the preface to one of his works describes him as having “stepped into the garden of knowledge” when only a



youth. “Piety, sincerity, reliance on Allah in all matters, frankness in speech, Enjoining the Good and Forbidding the Evil are among some of the spiritual and ethical traits of this *Faqhi*,” the preface continues.

He is certainly frank in his speech. “Have you been to the Vatican? Does this”—he waved at the men seated on the floor—“compare with Rome? You see how modest are the Muslim clergy, quite unlike the arrogance of Christians.” “Tell me,” he asked, even though I had been told politics would not be discussed, “Why are the Christian countries allied with the Zionists against Muslims? The Holy Koran says that Jews who slander Jesus and Mary are damned. Every day,



JOHN LAUGHLAND

The former American embassy in Tehran

I pray for Christians—that they will abandon their alliance with the evil regime in Israel.” I could not have wished for a more immediate reminder of why the foreign policy of the United States is so unnecessarily hated from Casablanca to Karachi. As a Tehran university professor had limpidly explained to me a few days previously, “The Iranian people hate the Israeli regime because it kills Palestinians, who are Muslims. This makes people angry with the USA.”

But the Iranians are not aggressively anti-American. Rather the contrary. As I left Qom, I stopped, like many tourists and pilgrims, to buy the pastries that are typical to the city. Hearing my English, the small crowd assumed I was an American. “Bush good!” shouted one man, and the others laughed. “We have plenty of mullahs to export if you want them,” said another in Farsi, more surreptitiously this time, but the laughter rippled louder. No doubt the praise uttered to the American president was intended as a personal gesture of kindness to me, but it seemed odd, given that “good” Mr. Bush has just reduced neighboring Iraq to rubble and chaos and that he seems to want to turn his sights on Iran now as well.

Iran is far less anti-American than many other countries in the region—

ington’s crosshairs with an Oriental combination of fatalism and wile. Like Iraqis, and unlike people from the rich industrial world, Iranians are not afraid of war. They have seen too much of it to care now, for they survived far worse during the Iran-Iraq War than they expect the Americans to inflict on them. Some lazily speculate about air strikes against Iran’s nuclear facilities, rather like Israel’s destruction of the Iraqi nuclear power station at Osirak in 1981. But Iranians are generally convinced that their country is too big for the Americans to take on easily—it is the

Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan—even if anti-Americanism has greatly increased here, as elsewhere, in the last two years. Will neocon saber-rattling succeed in turning the least anti-American country in the Middle East once again into a hotbed of hatred for the Great Satan?

Iranians react to the prospect of being the next country in Wash-

place in Iran through force. That would be the most stupid policy of all. Is the U.S. creating a democratic Iraq, or is it legitimizing terrorism there?” The Iranians also have the perhaps rather complacent view that a country with thousands of years of history cannot be snuffed out even if a few hundred thousand GIs wander over its vast territory for a decade or two.

On the drive back from Qom to Tehran, it took an hour and a half to negotiate the phenomenal traffic jams that clog the city from the suburbs to the center. The glacier of six lanes of cars in both directions is one indication, albeit a rudimentary one, of a country positively teeming with social and economic activity. Pilgrims were returning in their tens of thousands from their Thursday evening visit to the vast shrine to Ayatollah Khomeini, whose four floodlit minarets illuminate the dusk next to the freeway heading south. In southern Tehran, the roughest part of town where foreigners are advised not to walk alone, young men sat out by the street, smoking water pipes and occasionally hashish or even opium. Prostitution is said to be rife in Qom, as it undoubtedly is in

WILL NEOCON SABER-RATTLING SUCCEED IN TURNING THE LEAST ANTI-AMERICAN COUNTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST ONCE AGAIN INTO A HOTBED OF HATRED FOR THE GREAT SATAN?

size of Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland put together, or, as Donald Rumsfeld would say, “bigger than the state of Texas.” It is also well armed and believes that it could resist an American invasion with its conventional weapons. “We are powerful enough to defend ourselves,” one foreign-ministry official told me calmly. “America was here before, and she could not maintain her presence,” said another. “The U.S. has no

Tehran too—and was I just imagining it, or had I caught flirtatious glances from dark pear-shaped eyes as beautiful young women billowed past in their black finery? As we entered the city center, we drove past the huge central park of Tehran, where students and mullahs sit by day and where drug pushers and gay cruisers meet by night.

The politics of Iran are as complex and multi-layered as its society. Unlike

Iraq under Saddam, Iran is also deeply inscrutable. The Islamic Republic does not have one government but two or more competing ones. The uncertainty this generates creates a palpable climate of fear in the country—in contrast to

research institute in Qom that I was from *The American Conservative*, they listened with interest and evident familiarity to my account of divisions within the same political family on the American Right.

REFORMERS WOULD NEVER OVERTLY SAY THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO **RECOGNIZE THE STATE OF ISRAEL**—BUT, IN REALITY, THEY WOULD PROBABLY BE HAPPY WITH A **FORM OF WORDS** THAT CAME TO THE SAME THING.

Saddam's Iraq where the atmosphere was far more relaxed. No fewer than three of my meetings were suddenly canceled because people were too afraid to meet me.

But these competing power centers also mean that Iran is one of the most pluralistic countries in the region. The much-discussed division between “conservatives” or “hard-liners” and “reformers” is in fact a misnomer. The “conservatives” are those most attached to the values of the Islamic Revolution and indeed used to be referred to as “radicals.” Those values include a deep attachment to Islam in government, national independence, law and order, and social justice. The “reformers” used to be called “moderates”—Mensheviks to the Ayatollah-Bolsheviks. Like the different factions within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the end of communism, even those who want an end to the system pay considerable lip service to the overall goals of the revolution and say that their disagreements with the other camp are only about methodology. For instance, even reformers would never overtly say that they were prepared to recognize the state of Israel—but, in reality, they would probably be happy with a form of words that came to the same thing. When I explained to some mullahs at an Islamic

The reformists claim that they stand for political pluralism, civil society, and “participation.” In reality, they seem to be far more aggressive toward their enemies than the conservatives are toward them. Official government press communiqués denounce the conservatives tartly as “a minority of non-elected clerics who rule Iran.” But one of the leading conservative opinion-formers, the gentle-mannered, old-fashioned, and evidently devout Dr. Hossein Shariatmadari, editor of the national daily, *Keyhan*—a man who refused to be photographed without his jacket on—insisted to me that his reformist enemies were all well-meaning, pious Muslims and patriotic Iranians. He refused to be drawn on whether any elements within the reformist camp were manipulated or encouraged by outside forces.

One is told constantly in Iran that the country is really governed by the conservatives. This is like Serbia, where three years after the fall of Milosevic, the government still calls itself the opposition. The reality seems to be that there are a few last outposts of conservatism in

a country otherwise totally dominated by reformers. In Iran, the reformists control the presidency and the parliament, which means they control the Interior Ministry and the intelligence services. The overwhelming majority of the press is also in their hands—of 13 national daily papers, only five are controlled by allies of the Supreme Leader, while the majority of the 100 or so local daily papers are also reformist. The Press Council within the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance has seven members, of which only one is a conservative.

If conservatives control the television and radio, this did not seem to prevent radical, alcohol-drinking secularists like my interpreter from working for state TV. Conservatives, by contrast, wield power only through the office of the Supreme Leader, the Council of Guardians, and the judiciary. The situation is like that in France from 1997 to 2002, when the presidency was controlled by the Gaullist Jacques Chirac and the rest of the government by the Socialists.

The result is that it is difficult to find any conservatives at all. When I asked the Foreign Press Bureau whom I



should see in Qom, it was suggested that I visit Ayatollah Montazeri—a man who is under house arrest for calling for an end to the Islamic regime and who recently said that the taking of American hostages in the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979 had been a mistake. My other attempts to meet “hard-liners” were generally thwarted. Perhaps most significantly, even people who are generally classified as conservatives seemed to me to have mainly reformist policies. Take, for instance, the director of the moderately conservative daily newspaper *Entechab* (*The Choice*), Dr. Taha Hashemi. He is said to harbor ambitions to become the next president of Iran. If so, it seems obvious that his strategy is to present himself as a conservative while in fact pursuing very reformist goals.

Dr. Hashemi is himself a cleric and so wears turban and robes. (During our interview, I tried to imagine my editors in London and Washington sweeping into their offices in soutane and biretta, but the attempt failed.) “Fundamentally,” he told me with the tone of man who is used to being listened to rather than listening, “The current U.S. administration has shaken democracy to its very foundations. Everyone in this region is rendered quite speechless by its acts.” Like everyone else I met, Dr. Hashemi sang the praises of democracy—and insisted that American foreign policy was antithetical to it. “No serious analyst can deny,” he said, “that the Islamic Revolution in 1979 occurred with the support of the people and against the hated Pahlavi dynasty. Many Western countries supported it; only America did not. This shows that America’s aim is not democracy but hegemony.”

Dr. Hashemi, like many others I met, emphasized that all Iranians feel bitter about U.S. support given to Iraq during the eight-year war with Iran. They also still resent the coup engineered in 1953

by the CIA against the popular Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh. But underneath his anti-American rhetoric, fundamentally pro-American positions emerged. It was with a mounting sense of surrealism that I watched this Islamic clergyman denounce first Saddam Hussein and then the Taliban. “The Taliban were created by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the United States, and Pakistan,” he told me. “How can a democratic country like America even dream of supporting such a backward regime as the Taliban?” He said that the Taliban’s obsession with beard length and their refusal to educate women were “the opposite of a progressive Islam that adapts itself to new developments”—by which he meant the kind of Islam they have in Iran. He reminded me that the Islamic Republic of Iran—like the Republic of Iraq, for that matter—never recognized the Taliban as the government of Afghanistan.

In short, Dr. Hashemi wanted me to understand, Iran is America’s perfect ally—and the Americans had really better understand that, for their own good. Indeed, he even twisted his anti-Zionist rhetoric to support his basically pro-American position, when he said that the only country that was determined to prevent Tehran and Washington from normalizing their relations was Israel.

This is exactly the line the government peddles strenuously. Although Iranians enjoy saying that the United States has embarked on a program of world

domination, two deputy foreign ministers I met, as well as diplomats in London, stressed repeatedly that Iran ought to be a valued partner of the United States. They emphasized that Iran is a vital strategic player in the Middle East and that it wanted to help the Americans in Iraq and Afghanistan. Iranians clearly believe that if they co-operate with America over Iraq and Afghanistan, the Americans will see the light. On two or three occasions, officials emphasized to me that Iran had encouraged the Iraqi Shi’ites—including the subsequently assassinated Iraqi Ayatollah, Mohammed Baqir al-Hakim—to co-operate with the American occupying forces in Iraq. “Iran’s positive contribution to calming down the Shi’ites in Iraq should be appreciated by the United States,” said one. “We made them understand that Hakim’s assassination was not the fault



of the Sunni Muslims. Our policy towards Iraq is very similar to the policy of the United States.”

Indeed, so extreme is the determination to play the game that a government minister, the head of the foreign affairs committee in the Iranian Parliament, even suggested two months ago that the Islamic Republic send troops to join the “coalition” in Iraq, saying that Iranian troops could be used to protect the holy cities of Najaf and Karbala. Dr. Hashemi, like the government ministers, insisted to me that Iran had no interest in fueling the war against the occupying forces in Iraq because that would be a threat to Iran’s own security. And the Iranian government seems to think that it can outwit the Americans by being as non-confrontational as possible in the current dispute over Iran’s nuclear power stations. The only stumbling block, as far as Iranians are concerned, is Israel.

Iranians like to denounce the double standards and inconsistencies of American foreign policy. This is not difficult when Israel has—unlike Iran—neither signed nor ratified the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, even though it is widely credited with having some 200 nuclear warheads. Many Iranians attack the politicization of the International Atomic Energy Agency and especially the ultimatum it imposed on Iran in September, for they say it has become an American tool. But their arguments never contain the kind of denunciation of America *per se* for which the Ayatollah Khomeini was notorious.

For instance, Dr. Mohammed Hossein Adeli, deputy foreign minister for economic affairs, insisted to me that current American foreign policy was above all damaging the United States itself and its own values. “America is America not because of its military power but because of its belief in liberty, equality, and tolerance,” he told me,

All of these values created America, but the current administration is attacking all of them. The U.S. has started to target its own values—the very values for which it should earn recognition and respect throughout the world. All civilizations rise and fall: the larger the civilization, the longer the fall. When a civilization starts to attack its own values, then the process of fall will start. If the trend continues, we will see an ever-widening gap between the United States and the peoples of the rest of the world.

Dr. Adeli says he cannot believe that the U.S. really thinks that Iran has nuclear weapons, when it is precisely Iran that has called for a nuclear-free Middle East. “The American pattern of problem-solving is to jump from one crisis to another, leaving things unresolved, as in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestine.” He even suggested that the Bush team deliberately provokes new crises in order to distract attention from unresolved old ones—as if the White House positively thrived on crises to which it could respond robustly and, if possible, violently.

IRAN CAUSED **REGIME CHANGE IN WASHINGTON** WITH THE FAILED ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES **UNDER JIMMY CARTER.**

Another minister to whom I spoke, off the record, expressed the sense of superiority that many Iranians seem to feel towards the U.S. “Twenty-five years ago,” he said,

[T]here were 50,000 Americans in Iran working in the army and the secret services. Now there are none. The Americans would do well to reflect on the lessons of history. Iran is now the only country in the region that has lived without the

Americans for 25 years. Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and other countries are terrified of jeopardizing their relations with the U.S., but their populations are full of hatred for America. Indeed, I even met a Saudi government official recently who told me that the time for dialogue was over, and that what was needed now is *jihad*. Iranians are more moderate. We have managed to contain the more hate-filled and violent expressions of anti-Americanism that we might have seen here and that we have seen elsewhere. Iran does not fear America. We do not want there to be a world consensus against Iran. We wish to resolve this dispute non-violently.

The Iranians are indeed gambling that at least some European countries will not toe an aggressive U.S. line on Iran and that the Islamic Republic will, through clever diplomacy and by non-confrontation, be able to prevent the whole world ganging up on it. “In any case,” added my minister with a glint of secret pleasure, “Iran has had a greater effect on the internal politics of the Unit-

ed States than the U.S. has had on our internal politics.” It is indeed true that Iran caused regime change in Washington, when the failed attempt to rescue the American hostages under Jimmy Carter brought Ronald Reagan into the White House.

So what is strikingly lacking is any sense of combative spirit, which the Iraqis made such a play of before the war and continue to nourish. Most insist that the nuclear bomb is incompatible with Islamic teaching on peace. On the

other hand, Iranians seem to agree that American aggressiveness will be bad for the reformers and good for the conservatives. Even the most radical reformers insist that anything more than moral support from the United States for reform elements in Iran will be fatal to their cause.

Isa Saharkhiz describes himself as a radical reformer, and he edits a newspaper, *Aftab*, that publishes people who have been imprisoned for their views. I have met people like Mr. Saharkhiz many times before: he loves to dramatize the extent of his own difficulties. He made much of the harassment that, he says, reformist papers suffer at the hands of the conservative-controlled judiciary—but at the same time admitted, “There is freedom [for the press in Iran].” Given that there are over a thousand publications in the Islamic Republic, and that a dozen new national dailies have sprung up in the last four years, this seems fair. Saharkhiz admits that reformers control the majority of the press, but it is clear that he will not be happy until all of it is. He also told me

But even Mr. Sakharkiz insisted that no one in Iran, not even the Tehran University students, wanted to be associated with the United States. “All the reformers,” he said, “from the moderates to the radicals, are agreed on two things—that we must not accept any help from the Americans and that we must be seen not to accept any help. As soon as any foreign assistance is accepted, you lose your independence.” Others similarly insisted to me that pressure from outside, especially military pressure, would rally the Iranian people around a nationalist and anti-American cause that would undoubtedly benefit the conservatives and damage the reformers, who are under the perennial accusation of being too accommodating to outsiders. In other words, the best thing the neocons could do for the forces of anti-Americanism in Iran would be to turn the screws on the Islamic Republic, because pressure from outside would strengthen anti-, not pro-American, elements.

As one official said, “The balance of forces in Iran will be upset by foreign



Iran's diplomacy seems to be based on an astonishing gamble: the Islamic Republic says it is prepared to co-operate with some of the most radical aspects of current American foreign policy, including the establishment of American military protectorates on Iran's borders in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Central Asia, while some elements in Iran are even prepared to come to a *modus vivendi* with Israel. In return, Iran wants the right, as a sovereign state, to be treated with dignity and to enter into collaboration with the United States on equal terms. Secondly, she wants to remain officially opposed to the policies of Ariel Sharon. The gamble, in other words, is that Iran wants to appease America in return for its national independence and the right to say what she thinks. The development of the incipient standoff between Washington and Tehran will therefore show whether the Bush administration is prepared to tolerate a willing but conditional ally in the Middle East or whether—as I fear—the goal is simply to subjugate everyone. ■

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IRAN WANTS THE RIGHT, AS A SOVEREIGN STATE, TO BE TREATED WITH DIGNITY AND TO ENTER INTO COLLABORATION WITH THE UNITED STATES.

that an open letter written by 155 parliamentarians criticizing the government had never been published. On closer questioning, it turned out that the press did quote from the letter and even published it in full, if a few days late. Finally, he claimed to have been on “hunger strike,” and indeed before I met him, people said, “Let's hope he is still alive by the time of your appointment.” When I arrived, he looked surprisingly healthy—chubby, even—and slurped sugary coffee during our discussion. It turned out that the “hunger strike” had lasted precisely one day.

pressure because all factions in Iran will react against it. To be sure, Islam is very important to Iranians. But the sense of national independence is probably even more powerful.” Indeed, the conservative Dr. Shariatmadari even put it to me that the student movement in Tehran University fizzled out the instant George Bush, Ari Fleischer, and the State Department stood up and said they supported it.

As Israel launches military attacks on alleged Iranian-backed terrorist camps in Syria, therefore, neoconservative threats against Iran put the United States in a deeply paradoxical position.

The Lion in Winter

George Plimpton, 1927–2003

By Matthew G. Alexander

IN 1922, EMILY POST wrote that “Best Society” was “not a fellowship of the wealthy, nor does it seek to exclude those who are not of exalted birth; but it *is* an association of gentle-folk, of which good form in speech, charm of manner, knowledge of the social amenities, and instinctive consideration for the feelings of others, are the credentials by which society the world over recognizes its chosen members.” This noble but, alas, antiquated standard of etiquette has known few better exemplars than the writer George Plimpton, who died unexpectedly last month. The obituaries and remembrances teem with words like “charm” and “wit” and “grace,” adjectives so often overused that one fears them inadequate to describe a man to whom they rightly belong.

Of Plimpton’s qualities, the most exceptional had to be his humility, for his background and attainments were formidable. A Mayflower patrician, he was educated at Exeter, Harvard, and Cambridge. He counted Ernest Hemingway, Norman Mailer, and the Kennedys among his friends. *Newsweek* once compared his writing style to E.B. White’s—high praise indeed, but justified.

One might therefore have expected him to display the ego and ennui that one often associates with artistic celebrity. Not for him, though, was the Byronic, ash-flicking *hauteur* of a Martin Amis. Neither did he strike the impressive presence of the typical literary editor. On the contrary. By all accounts, his appearance at a party would set every-

one at ease, and his own celebrations often resembled Jay Gatsby’s midsummer soirees.

It is, in fact, extraordinary that he cheerfully put his considerable gifts to work recounting pursuits that exposed his weaknesses. George Plimpton was best known as an aristocratic dilettante with a common touch, a rare combination made possible by his characteristically self-effacing humor and his populist tastes: Plato, to be sure, but also football, baseball, and boxing. He quarterbacked the Detroit Lions, took a cinematic bullet from John Wayne, and traded blows with Archie Moore; sporting success frequently eluded him, but he wrote elegantly about the attempts. (He was, it should be pointed out, a good athlete, with a particular knack for tennis and the racket sports.)

In his fashion, he acted out the quixotic yearnings known to many ordinary

One disapproving glance from the great conductor Leonard Bernstein, however, could excite more fear in Plimpton than even the prospect of a linebacker charging at his head. One time, the author joined the New York Philharmonic’s percussion section for a Canadian tour, having had only the most rudimentary musical training. The experience veered from the dismal (“ruining” Mahler’s Fourth Symphony) to the triumphant (a mighty gong blast—born of nervous energy—to conclude Tchaikovsky’s Second). Afterwards, he shrank from Bernstein’s company: “Part of it,” he later explained, “was having been in the presence of such genius.” Herewith, an important distinction between the good and the mediocre: while the mediocre concedes nothing superior to itself, the good acknowledges greatness and gives it its due.

This captures exactly the accomplish-

HE ACTED OUT THE **QUIXOTIC YEARNINGS** KNOWN TO **MANY ORDINARY MEN**,
IF ONLY IN THEIR BEDROOMS AND BACKYARDS.

men, if only in their bedrooms and backyards. NPR sports commentator Frank Deford has said, “Since nobody else can ever be George Plimpton, simply watching football and action movies substitutes for some primeval instincts of masculine derring-do.” Many will mourn him who have never dined at Elaine’s or subscribed to *Harper’s*.

ment of his participatory journalism, or “professional amateurism.” His clumsy sojourns in the exalted temples where human greatness dwells brought them to life for other mortals in a way that no formulaic “backstage tour” ever could. Above all, for Plimpton and for us, books like *Paper Lion* are as fun to read as the events themselves must have

been to live. Proud, tough professional football players welcomed him because of his sincerity and good will, his modesty and evident respect.

George Plimpton was not given to partisan polemics, although it can be surmised that his political views fell rather Left of center. He volunteered on Robert Kennedy's 1968 presidential campaign, later choking up as he told the Associated Press how he helped tackle Sirhan Sirhan after the assassination. Just before his death it transpired that Plimpton had long ago been exiled from two clubs in the Hamptons for playing host to the radical Berrigan brothers in the 1970s. Even so, he also pitched horseshoes—in cowboy hat—with the two presidents Bush, losing painfully to the younger and burning for redemption to the end. Elsewhere, he recalls asking his Carter-supporting nine-year-old daughter what was wrong with President Reagan. Answer: "He laughs too much. He thinks everything is funny."

The critic who ventures into Plimpton's natural milieu—English prose—to assess his career experiences something of the anxiety Plimpton himself knew beneath Leonard Bernstein's baton. Plimpton was the classic man of letters,

attached weather balloons to a lawn chair and, flying up to a height of 16,000 feet, went arm-to-wing with jetliners, incurring the sanctions of a bemused FAA. He chronicled the odd but rarely the disturbing; his tales are consistently light-hearted and whimsical, highlighting the unserious side of human experience.

Though too young to have been of their generation, George Plimpton seemed a link to the Jazz Age of Fitzgerald and Hemingway. Hemingway he knew; Fitzgerald he played on stage, in a show he adapted from the letters of "Zelda, Scott, and Ernest." It is a shame he did not live to write his memoirs: Norman Mailer challenging all comers to thumb-wrestling contests; John and Caroline Kennedy playing in the sands of Newport. Oh the stories he would tell!



ZUMA PRESS

PLIMPTON WAS THE **CLASSIC MAN OF LETTERS**, THE ERUDITE GENERALIST NOW DISAPPEARING IN THIS **AGE OF ACADEMIC HYPERSPECIALIZATION**.

the erudite generalist now disappearing in this age of academic hyperspecialization. In both his fiction and nonfiction, he had an eye for the eccentric. His most famous short story concerned Sidd Finch, the enigmatic Buddhist who, *en route* to enlightenment, had learned to throw a 168 MPH fastball. Five years ago in the *New Yorker*, he related the true story of a Los Angeles veteran who

Plimpton's journal, the *Paris Review*—which proved that quality does not depend on budget and circulation—gained fame for its iconic interviews of such literary gods as Faulkner, Nabokov, and Pound, as well as for publishing new fiction by the likes of Philip Roth and Jack Kerouac. Plimpton's paternal benevolence extended even to the unknown, and he has inspired many oth-

ers he would never meet. Once an aspiring author named Jerry Spinelli bought "A Night on the Town with George Plimpton" from a PBS charity auction. Plimpton, apprehensive that he was insufficiently interesting to support such a prize, nonetheless introduced Spinelli to Woody Allen and others as "the writer from Philadelphia."

Mrs. Post speaks of "gentle-folk," and in his manner George Plimpton was nothing if not gentle, in both connotations of the word. He wore *noblesse oblige* lightly, in a fashion that was natural, unaffected, and, it seemed, unconscious. Especially in this time of juvenile transatlantic recriminations, it is touching at last to recall how fondly Europeans—in Paris, after the war—embraced him as their favorite kind of American: like a Gary Cooper character, he was tall, handsome, well mannered, and naïve. ■

General Discontent

The lackluster Wesley Clark confronts the insurgent Howard Dean.

By Martin Sieff

CAN GEN. WESLEY CLARK beat Howard Dean? Even if he can, can he beat George W. Bush? Probably not in both cases, but it's too soon to count him out either.

It should be easy to dismiss Clark. Here is a general of no particularly impressive command record and no prior experience in electoral politics, whose knowledge of economics and industrial affairs and, for that matter, just about every other significant domestic issue leaves Arnold Schwarzenegger looking like an *Almanac of American Politics*. He is the incarnate symbol of nation building to the Right and is backed by the Clintonite wing of the Democratic Party, at the very time the grassroots of that party are seeking a new champion.

Unlike Dwight D. Eisenhower, to whom his admirers are already comparing him, Clark did not liberate Europe and destroy a continent-spanning regime that became a synonym for the embodiment of evil. He "liberated" Kosovo and used only air power to do so. Unlike the charismatic and genuinely lovable Ike, Clark has been unable to pull a single army buddy out to campaign for him.

Now, many of the most brilliant generals in American—and world—history have been arrogant egomaniacs loathed throughout the army for their narcissism. Winfield Scott and Douglas MacArthur come to mind. But of course, when "Ol' Fuss and Feathers" in 1852

and "Mac" in 1948 and '52 sought the presidency, it was a fiasco all the way.

Nor does Clark have any prior record of trust on which to build with the entrenched interest groups—environmentalists, blacks, Hispanics, feminists, gays—that wield immense power in the Democrats' internal political processes. He is even on videotape endorsing President Bush, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, and the Iraq war before it all turned sour. He ought to be toast. But he isn't. At least not yet.

Clark hit the race at exactly the right time, with a powerful coalition already behind him. This was no accident. In his long involvement in Bosnia and Kosovo through the 1990s, he learned to build and hold together impressive coalitions, and he didn't jump into this race until he had a formidable one behind him.

The Clinton Family backs Clark—at least for the moment—and they remain as formidable a force in Democratic politics as the Corleones ever were in the Mob politics of *The Godfather*. He entered the race at the moment Dean had routed the rest of the field. He is clearly the candidate of Terry McAuliffe and the Democratic Leadership Council as much as he is of the Clintons, and he jumped straight to the top of the polls. He has plenty of opportunity ahead to self-destruct, but a start like that should not be underestimated.

In terms of the centuries-old cycles of American politics, Clark has a lot going

for him—and a lot going against him. His admirers have been trumpeting him as a Democratic Eisenhower. But it's better to see him as a would-be Zachary Taylor who carries the potential of fizzling out like a George McClellan.

Taylor was the heroic general of the Mexican War who won the presidency for the minority Whig Party in 1848. Like the Dems today, the Whigs had a "manliness" problem against Andrew Jackson's macho, land-conquering Democrats. The only two times they ever managed to win the presidency was by running victorious generals, Taylor in '48 and William Henry Harrison eight years earlier. The untidy but attractive Taylor and even Harrison, however, had—or in Harrison's case, at least could simulate—attractive personalities. Clark does not.

Conventional wisdom teaches that Clark can win the South while Dean cannot and therefore the Democrats must embrace him if they want to avoid a humiliating flameout next year. In fact, there is very good reason to believe that Dean can do surprisingly well in the South and Southwest: he has impeccable anti-gun-control credentials and is something of a fiscal conservative with a strong track record as a five-term governor. He is also more reassuring on civil liberties to conservatives appalled by the Patriot Act(s) than any Clinton general, and he has been feeding the Democratic grassroots Bush-bashing raw

meat. Clark cannot ever match him in most if not all of these areas.

Clark, however, offers the Dems the giddy prospect of having a general as their presidential candidate for the first time since, well, McClellan in 1864. The parallel is a revealing one. McClellan had a far poorer military record than Clark as a commander—it is hard even in the 140 years since to find a worse military record than McClellan had—but he still started off strong in his 1864 campaign against Abraham Lincoln, and if Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman had not pulled Lincoln's—and the Union's—chestnuts out of the fire by taking Atlanta in the fall of that year, McClellan could have done it. With Iraq rapidly deteriorating and the U.S. armed forces tied down there, when they should be free to hunt down al-Qaeda and its allies around the world, the prospects for Bush to pull an Atlanta out of his hat do not look good.

But if Clark as a proud soldier-repre-

sentative of Arkansas theoretically fits the old Democratic “wish fulfillment” list on one hand, he has the entire history of his party against him on the other. First of all, he is a general, and no general has won the White House running as a Democrat since the dubious example of Franklin Pierce in 1852. Since McClellan's failure a dozen years later, not a single one has been within dreaming distance of the party's nomination. Indeed, apart from Ike, no general has won the

populist traditions of the Democrats in North and South alike. He does not just have enthusiasm on his side; he has middle-class funds. In absolute terms, Clark is likely to have much more money with the DLC and the Clintonistas behind him, but the history of Democratic insurgent campaigns suggests that, within the party at least, populist fervor counts for more in winning the nomination than conventional endorsements or bulging campaign chests. Just ask

DEAN OFFERS THE PROMISE OF ATTRACTING CROSSOVER REPUBLICAN VOTERS REPELLED BY THE LOOMING FEDERAL-DEFICIT CATASTROPHE.

presidency for either party since Benjamin Harrison in 1888, and he had been marinated in civil politics for two decades.

If Clark were only running against the Eight Dwarves, that would not matter.

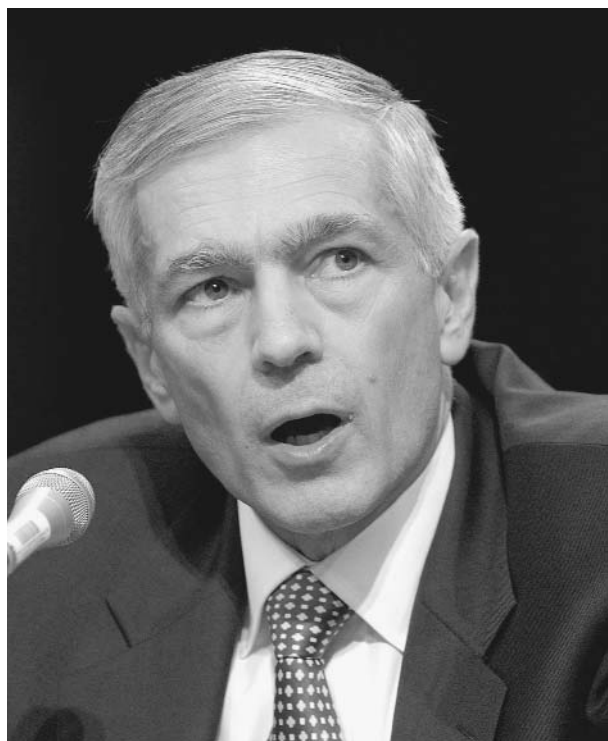
But he is also running against Howard Dean, and Dean is the most important grassroots Democratic insurgent candidate since at least Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and probably Al Smith in 1928. Indeed, Dean already holds the promise of triggering a nationwide political realignment such as has not been seen since Richard Nixon created three and a half decades of Republican national dominance with the Southern Strategy in the late '60s and early '70s.

Dean has made his shocking breakthroughs by reviving in 21st-century terms the fiery old

William Jennings Bryan in 1896, Adlai Stevenson in 1952, or George McGovern in 1972.

The trouble with romantic insurgency campaigns is that they almost always lose the presidential race even when they win their party's nomination, as happened to the above three examples and probably would have happened to Gene McCarthy had he won the nomination at the infamous 1968 Chicago convention. It was also the fate of the only insurgent ever to win a GOP presidential nomination, Wendell Willkie in 1940. But with all that, the Dems have a better chance with Dean next year than they would with Clark. That is especially so because Dean offers the promise of attracting crossover Republican voters repelled by the looming federal-deficit catastrophe and the folly of nation building in Iraq. But most of those voters would probably sit on the fence rather than come out for Clark, Bill Clinton's favorite general and, with Madeleine Albright, the champion of nation building in the Balkans.

The Dems' most crucial priority is to mobilize their grassroots. Dean is doing that. It is questionable whether Clark



ever can. And the November 2000 election showed that the Dems' potential support base is now about three million votes vaster than the GOP's. The national rallying behind Bush after 9/11 seemed to belie that assessment, but worrying trends in the economy and the body bags coming home from Iraq have stripped Bush of his red, white, and blue Teflon coating. If Clark can take him, so can Dean.

Obviously, if Clark's well-documented operatic streak breaks through, he may yet fall flat. After all, such unfortunate personality tics brought down Scott and MacArthur—whose command achievements dwarfed Clark's—in their own political adventures. But even if Clark does well, or too well, he could face big problems. The Clintons might try to undercut him if it looks like 2004 could be a Democratic year after all. So instead of offering up a sacrifice bunt in the form of Clark to keep control of the national political machinery away from Dean—and leave the way open for Hillary to win the White House in 2008—the Clintons might decide 2004 should be her turn after all. If Bush's poll numbers continue to decline, expect Clark's standing, from his very supporters, to suffer the death of a thousand cuts—and whispers.

All this should militate against Clark. After all, the worst thing a trial-balloon candidate can do is actually to develop any momentum of his own. But as the current administration's economic and national insecurity politics show, there has never been an age whenchutzpah can carry one farther in America. Dean seeks to change the times in which we live; Clark is all too emblematic of them. ■

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Israel is calling up Army reserves to reoccupy much of the Palestinian Authority's self-rule area and to carry out expanded military action through the end of November. The Bush administration will not interfere. The recent Israeli bombing raid on an empty camp in Syria was conducted to probe air defenses and to determine anti-aircraft response, not to kill terrorists. Ariel Sharon's escalation and the anti-Syrian rhetoric coming from the Bush administration presage Israeli strikes against Hezbollah in Lebanon and against Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) leadership in Damascus. Syria is being informed through diplomatic channels that unless it expels PIJ head Ramadan Shallah and Hamas it will be subjected to sanctions and pre-emptive strikes. The White House hard line and the impending House of Representatives vote to impose sanctions against Syria have placed the U.S. squarely in the middle of the conflict, even though the case against Damascus as a hotbed of terrorism relies on selective use of intelligence. Congress is lambasting Syria to support Israel, which, at the moment, coincides with the administration view.



Morale at the CIA has plummeted after President Bush's admission that the source of the leak of Valerie Plame's identity may never be determined. Coming only one day after the statement that three top administration officials had not participated in the leak, the Bush comment appears a deliberate attempt to hobble the investigation. CIA officers argue that the "outing" of an officer under cover is no simple matter and would result in a linkage to the leaker, who undoubtedly had direct contact with the officer in some official capacity. Such contact took place in briefings that the CIA's counter-proliferation staff gave to the National Security Council (NSC) earlier this year. Plame was present and participated in briefing the NSC's weapons of mass destruction referents, including one leading neoconservative. Some CIA officers suspect that the NSC meetings may be the source of the leak of Plame's identity, with the information being shared with other neoconservatives in the Vice President's office, who actually briefed journalist Robert Novak.



The same **American Enterprise Institute (AEI)** neoconservatives that urged war with Iraq are now **pushing regime change for Iran**. Two AEI "resident scholars" who are also Pentagon contractors have just returned from meetings in Rome with Iranian dissidents, reportedly including "Iranian intelligence sources" provided by arms dealer Manucher Ghorbanifar of Iran-Contra fame. Ghorbanifar, a probable Israeli agent, has been passing the Pentagon information—that the CIA regards as fabricated—linking Iraq with Iran's nuclear program. One month ago, AEI hosted the Ayatollah Hossein Khomeini. Two weeks ago, he spoke before the Pentagon's Douglas Feith, head of the former Office of Special Plans, source of much of the questionable intelligence about Iraq. Khomeini, a grandson of the Islamic Republic's deceased founder, opposes the clerical regime in Tehran and was well received when he urged the U.S. to support Iranian opposition figures and to work to remove Iran's "ruthless dictatorship." According to Khomeini, the corrupt Iranian regime is ready to fall and liberating forces will be cheered in the streets.

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Israel's Democracy Dilemma

West Bank settlements force an existential question.

By Doug Bandow

DESPITE ITS CONTINUED backing of Israel, the Bush administration's patience is apparently not endless. Should Ariel Sharon's government continue to construct a security fence effectively annexing Palestinian areas to Israel, Washington has threatened to withhold some of the \$9 billion in planned loan guarantees.

Israelis are not pleased. "It's none of their business," complained Zitrin Eliezer, an Israeli settler in the West Bank. "Let them give California and Texas back to the Mexicans and then they can come and tell us what to do."

In fact, Eliezer is correct: Israel's policies aren't America's business. At least they wouldn't be if Washington were not backing Israel against all comers, providing billions in aid annually, arming its distant ally, and offering diplomatic cover for Israel. The price of dependence on America is meddling by Washington.

The U.S. has no choice but to demand, pressure, and whine. As Sept. 11 dramatically demonstrated, America pays a price for being identified with Israel's policies in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Obviously, terrorism against the U.S. reflects complex causes and circumstances, and the slaughter of innocents, whether Americans or Israelis, can never be justified.

But anger over U.S. support for Israel permeates Arab and Muslim nations. Even pro-American liberals in the most pro-American Mideast Muslim state,

Kuwait, uniformly criticize Washington when they see Israeli tanks confront Palestinian children. Dr. Steve Gilliland of Brigham Young University spent eight months in Jerusalem; he complains of "the assault on human rights, the incessant harassment, and the humiliation and violence the Palestinians suffer at the hands of the Israeli government."

Alas, the situation is only likely to get worse. Every killing encourages more killing: the young woman who set off the deadly bomb in Haifa apparently acted in retaliation for the killing of her brother and cousin in Jenin in the West Bank four months before. Her murder of 19 virtually forced an Israeli response. And on it goes, a tragedy without end.

Indeed, Israeli officials, including Vice Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, publicly

long pushed such an option; expulsion is the implicit if not explicit goal of most settlers. Understandable frustration over murderous suicide bombings has increased popular support for this brutal option.

American columnist Ben Shapiro writes, "If you believe that the Jewish state has a right to exist, then you must allow Israel to transfer the Palestinians and the Israeli-Arabs from Judea, Samaria, Gaza and Israel proper. It's an ugly solution, but it is the only solution."

The euphemisms roll off of his tongue. "It's not genocide; it's transfer." Czechoslovakia and Poland did it to Germans after World War II; Winston Churchill thought it was a good idea. Indeed, "expelling a hostile population is a commonly used and generally effective way

EVERY KILLING ENCOURAGES MORE KILLING ... ON IT GOES, A TRAGEDY WITHOUT END.

talked of assassinating (or expelling or jailing) Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. No great loss: the man is a blood-stained thug. But for Israel to murder an elected quasi-head of state would make it, and its chief ally, America, appear equally roguish.

Even worse is talk of "solving" the conflict through ethnic cleansing. An extremist segment of Israeli opinion has

of preventing violent entanglements." Expelling nearly five million people from their homes is permissible, says Shapiro, because "Jews are not Nazis."

But he is advocating forced ethnic cleansing, not voluntary transfer. And that means inflicting mass hardship and possibly death on the population being "transferred." After all, the Palestinians aren't likely to obey an Israeli decree to

abandon all. They will have to be forced to do so. That means destroying their homes. Wiping out their villages. Killing at least some of them. No wonder Shapiro concludes, "It's time to stop being squeamish."

Look at the World War II experience, which Shapiro endorses. An estimated 9 to 15 million Germans were forced from ancestral lands in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. R.J. Rummel, author of *Death By Government*, estimates the casualty toll at between 500,000 and 3.7 million, most likely about 1.9 million, similar to the numbers offered by other analysts. Some ethnic Germans were killed before expulsion; many died while fleeing; some died later as a result of their treatment. So horrific was the "transfer" process that Rummel places Poland "among the megamurderers" of history.

In an earlier column Shapiro wrote, "I am getting really sick of people who whine about 'civilian casualties.'" For instance, the Palestinian town of Jenin, he argued, should have been leveled by air attack rather than searched by ground forces: "Civilian casualties? So be it. That might have struck a note of fear into the Palestinians."

About one thing he is correct: ethnic cleansing is distressingly common. Large numbers of Greeks, Hungarians, and Turks were expelled in the aftermath of World War I. Nazi Germany forced out 100,000 French and one million Poles from territory that it conquered early in World War II. Various nations "transferred" Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Russians. Some 700,000 Palestinians are refugees from the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1948. (Today survivors and descendents number about 4.5 million.) Over the last decade, Albanians, Croats, and Serbs all engaged in the practice during the Yugoslavian civil war.

But as common as the practice might

be, it now is uniformly condemned—except by those who think as Shapiro does.

In principle, separation seems the best answer. Whatever the theoretical long-term value of diverse peoples living together in harmony, it's not going to happen soon in the Mideast. Daily contact between Israelis and Palestinians seems only to provide further opportunities for the former to oppress the latter and the latter to murder the former. Better to stop the killing than foolishly to hold onto some hopeless multicultural ideal.

For this reason, a security fence that physically separates Jew from Arab makes sense. Unfortunately, the one being constructed by Israel mixes Jew and Arab and separates Arab from Arab. For Israel is attempting to protect a

number of disparate settlements erected in the midst of Palestinian communities. The more settlers Israel includes, the more Arabs it gains and the less continuity there is among Palestinian lands. Indeed, by one estimate, so far the fence is set to include 13 villages containing 12,000 Palestinians, 75 acres of greenhouses, 23 miles of irrigation pipes, and 100,000 olive and citrus trees. Those numbers could grow substantially, depending upon the path the fence ultimately takes.

Separation will work only if it really is separation. The more Palestinians end up on the Israeli side, the more seeds for continuing and future conflict will be sown. As long as Palestinian territory is fragmented, Arabs will live under a system of *de facto* apartheid, and the anger

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and hatred that helps give rise to suicide bombing will continue to fester. Peace will remain as distant as ever.

The basic question posed by separation on Israel's terms is: why should the Arabs go? Israel may have taken the land through conquest, but after 36 years of occupation the land remains almost exclusively Arab. The Jewish presence is largely the result of a conscious policy of colonization. Were the land empty to start, there would be little cause to complain. But it was not. When Israel triumphed in the 1967 Six Day War, Gaza was part of Egypt, and the West Bank was part of Jordan. There were essentially no Jews.

In 1978, when the Camp David Accords were midwived with the help of President Jimmy Carter, there were only about 4,000 Jewish settlers in the occupied lands—and everyone agreed that Israeli settlers had to leave the Sinai, which was returned to Egypt, to reach an agreement.

But during the 1980s the number of settlers increased six-fold. Since then the total has trebled again. With subsidies approaching \$1 billion a year, the number of settlers has reached about 230,000. (Most are in the West Bank, but, inexplicably, 6,500 live in Gaza.) The settlements require a pervasive Israeli military occupation, under which Pales-

tinians essentially live in Bantustan "homelands." Writes Avraham Burg, former speaker of Israel's Knesset:

It is very comfortable to be a Zionist in West Bank settlements such as Beit El and Ofra. The biblical landscape is charming. You can gaze through the geraniums and bougainvilleas and not see the occupation. Traveling on the fast highway that skirts barely a half-mile west of the Palestinian road-blocks, it's hard to comprehend the humiliating experience of the Arab who must creep for hours along the pocked, blockaded roads assigned to him. One road for the occupier, one road for the occupied.

This cannot work. Even if the Arabs lower their heads and swallow their shame and anger for ever, it won't work. A structure built on human callousness will inevitably collapse on itself.

At stake is the future of Israeli democracy. Burg argues, "The prime minister should present the choices forthrightly: Jewish racism or democracy." A single state requires nearly universal willingness to live and work together. Moreover, demographics create an ever-advancing crisis. There are roughly 5.3 million Jews in Israel and a couple hundred thousand in the occupied territo-

ries. There are 1.3 million Arabs in Israel and about 3.4 million in Gaza and the West Bank.

Given respective birthrates, there will soon be more Arabs than Jews in the combined territory between the Mediterranean Sea and Jordan River. Arabs are likely to account for 60 percent of that population and nearly one-third of Israel's citizens by 2020. Notes Uri Dromi of the Israel Democracy Institute, "Either we give the Palestinians equal rights, in which case Israel ceases to be Jewish, or we don't, in which case Israel ceases to be democratic. The only way for Israel to remain both Jewish and democratic is for it to pull out of the territories." Israeli academic Shlomo Avineri makes the same point. Separation is "a counsel of despair," but "the current situation is awful. We remain in a neocolonial relationship with the Palestinians, which forces us to do things that are incompatible with being a democracy."

The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is intractable. The murderous bombing in Haifa and the retaliation that followed seem almost routine. But there is hope because, as Shapiro notes, "Jews are not Nazis." A number of Israeli soldiers now refuse to serve in the West Bank; 27 pilots recently declared their refusal to bomb targets in the West Bank. In the end, Israel is incapable of conducting Shapiro's plan of ethnic cleansing.

The most obvious solution is not ethnic cleansing. Not expulsion. Not assassination. But separation—and with it the dismantling of Israeli settlements that dot Gaza and the West Bank. And as long as Washington backs Israel financially and politically, the future of the settlements is America's business. ■

Doug Bandow is a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute and a former Special Assistant to President Ronald Reagan.

A Woman's Right to Change Her Mind

The plaintiffs in *Roe* and *Doe* draft a new challenge to the cases that made them famous.

By Howard Sutherland

ABORTION IS THE MOST polarizing issue in America. It has been for 30 years, since the Supreme Court, in *Roe v. Wade* and its companion case, *Doe v. Bolton*, found that women had a constitutional right to abortion. The Court's rationales were not rooted in anything in the Constitution, yet the decisions pushed aside states' abortion laws, many over a century old. Protected from politics, abortion rights became a lightning rod, a talisman of feminists, and an abomination to abortion opponents. U.S. Senators have made judicial nominees' views of *Roe v. Wade* a *de facto* Test Act. It is strange that a novel legal challenge to something so controversial, and a compelling human-interest story, has attracted so little media coverage. Do our opinion-shapers fear that this challenge may succeed?

Allan E. Parker Jr. is a human-rights lawyer in Texas. He founded and runs The Justice Foundation in San Antonio. Parker believes *Doe* and *Roe* were wrongly decided and that there is a promising way to challenge them using the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure (FCRP) that govern federal trials. Parker's approach differs from previous challenges in not relying primarily on arguments about the right to life of unborn children and constitutional errors in the decisions. Those arguments are true—and tried. No majority of justices has heeded them, even in a challenge to the flagrant barbarism of partial-birth abor-

tion. Something different is needed, that "gives the Supreme Court a graceful way out of the problem it is in" over abortion, as Parker says. Rule 60 of the FRCP and Parker's plaintiffs may be that something.

Rule 60 provides that "on motion and upon such terms as are just, the court may relieve a party ... from a final judgment ... for the following reasons: ... it is no longer equitable that the judgment should have prospective application." The original plaintiff may return to court to ask that a judgment be reversed if it is now unjust. There is no statute of limitations.

To bring Rule 60 motions challenging *Roe* and *Doe*, Parker needed *Roe* and *Doe*. Thirty years later, they had to be still alive, competent, and willing to overturn the decisions that created abortion on demand. Unlikely, one would think, yet both *Roe* and *Doe* are available, pro-life, and very willing to sue. Jane Roe is Norma McCorvey; Mary Doe is Sandra Cano. Represented by Parker, McCorvey has sued in the Dallas federal court where *Roe* began, and Cano is suing in the Atlanta federal court where *Doe* started. The goal is to get either case (ideally both) back before the Supreme Court.

McCorvey and Cano have similar stories. Young, poor, and poorly educated, they were used, first by the men in their lives, then by feminist lawyers looking for plaintiffs to challenge abortion laws.

McCorvey's Rule 60 affidavit tells how, pregnant and homeless in 1969, she saw an adoption lawyer who referred her to two young lawyers, Sarah Weddington and Linda Coffee. Over pitchers of beer they talked McCorvey into being their plaintiff to challenge Texas's abortion law. She was ideal: "You're white. You're young, pregnant, and you want an abortion." In fact, McCorvey wasn't sure what an abortion was and in the end never had one. She signed her affidavit unread.

There was no evidence at trial about the reality of abortion or its effects on women. Following *Roe v. Wade*, McCorvey's life was a fog of drink, drugs, despair, and work in abortion clinics, punctuated by suicide attempts. What she saw in those clinics fed a growing remorse about her role in making abortion common. Nevertheless, she was a pro-choice heroine, until she came to Christianity in 1995 through an old adversary, Operation Rescue's Rev. Flip Benham. In 1998, McCorvey was received into the Catholic Church. She is a greater force in the pro-life movement than she ever was for the other side—with her own organization, Roe No More Ministries and an autobiography, *Won by Love*.

Sandra Cano's Rule 60 affidavit says that she never wanted an abortion. In 1970, 22, pregnant with her fourth child, and abandoned by her husband, Cano sought a legal-aid divorce. Her lawyer, Margie Pitts Hames, gave her some

papers, which Cano did not read, thinking they were for a divorce. They were an affidavit saying she wanted an abortion and was suing to overturn Georgia's abortion law. Cano only suspected what she had really signed when her mother and Hames tried to take her for an abortion. Cano refused and eventually fled to Oklahoma to avoid them. Back in Atlanta, she appeared at trial but did not testify. Like Norma McCorvey, Sandra Cano never had an abortion. In 1998, angry and feeling used, Cano sued to unseal the trial records. Hames opposed her, but Cano prevailed. Those records stated, falsely, that Cano had applied for an abortion and was turned down, then sued the state of Georgia. They contained a fictitious account of Cano's petitioning a nine-doctor abortion panel. Cano believes that abortion is not in any mother's interest but a false solution imposed on mothers by others.

Rule 60 sets a high, but not impossible, standard. The Supreme Court's test is whether a significant change in factual conditions or the law since the original

argues, with a battery of medical support, that abundant new DNA evidence shows that a unique human life begins at conception.

The Court considered no evidence of the effects of abortion on women. Parker offers 5,565 pages of affidavits from over 1,000 women attesting to the harm they have suffered in body, mind, and spirit after aborting their children. Their affidavits are painful reading and make a strong case that women who abort can suffer devastating psychological and physical trauma. The Supreme Court presumed a professional doctor-patient relationship. The women's affidavits show that very rarely happens in abortion. Mothers usually decide to abort under pressure from others, with no professional advice other than the clinic's own pressure to abort.

On the law, subsequent Supreme Court cases, while upholding *Doe* and *Roe*, have weakened their holding that abortion is a "fundamental right." More important, in 1997's *Washington v. Glucksberg*, the Court defined a consti-

quish her baby for adoption or foster care for any reason soon after birth. The state guarantees the child's care until age 18. Baby Moses laws, Parker argues, provide mothers the freedom the Court thought it was giving them through the more drastic expedient of abortion. They also offer state solutions to the problem, in keeping with the Supreme Court's recently renewed emphasis on federalism.

Parker's challenge to *Doe v. Bolton* as well as *Roe* is wise. The Georgia statute that *Doe* overturned was more permissive than the Texas law *Roe* struck down. Unlike *Roe*'s convoluted trimester scheme, *Doe* allows abortions at any time in a pregnancy. Late pregnancies may be aborted on a single doctor's judgment that continuing the pregnancy would injure the mother's health (health, undefined, is a catch-all). *Doe*, not *Roe*, is the father of partial-birth abortion and the more important case to overturn.

Although Judge David Godbey in Dallas, a George W. Bush appointee, dismissed the *Roe* challenge immediately, saying "it's too late" to reconsider *Roe*, an appeal is pending before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, several of whose judges might view the Rule 60 motion favorably. The challenge to *Doe* is before Judge Owen Forrester in Atlanta. Forrester, a Reagan appointee, upheld Georgia's prohibition of partial-birth abortion. One intriguing possibility is that the two cases might lead to a split in the federal circuit courts, which the Supreme Court would have to resolve. The Court would then have to reconsider *Roe* and *Doe*. Judge Godbey notwithstanding, it is never too late to reconsider bad precedent and return to the Constitution. If it were, *Dred Scott* would still be the law of the land. ■

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CANO ONLY SUSPECTED WHAT SHE HAD REALLY SIGNED WHEN HER MOTHER AND HAMES TRIED TO TAKE HER FOR AN ABORTION.

decision makes continued application of the judgment unjust. Parker's Rule 60 motions argue that both the facts and the law have changed so much since 1973 that it is unjust to continue to apply *Doe* and *Roe*.

On the facts, *Doe* and *Roe* assumed that what is aborted is not a human being and that abortion does not harm women. The Supreme Court asserted that no one can determine when life begins, justifying abortion on demand early in pregnancy. Noting that the Constitution would require that the uncertainty be resolved in favor of life, Parker

tutionally protected fundamental right: it must find a cognizable basis in the Constitution's language or design and be so rooted in the traditions and conscience of our people as to be ranked as fundamental. A criminal offense for most of our history, abortion would seem not to qualify.

Most important, the Supreme Court's rationale that women need abortion to avoid unwanted motherhood has been undermined by the passage of "Baby Moses" laws. Starting with Texas, 41 states, including Georgia, have recently passed laws allowing a mother to relin-

Lights Out

America faces a new energy crisis.

By Robertson Morrow

AMERICA IN THE MID-1950S produced and consumed about half the energy in the world. Foreign trade in energy was small: America exported about a sixth of its coal production and had to import an eighth of its oil consumption. There was a trivial deficit: energy consumption outstripped production by less than 1 percent.

In 1956, in the midst of this energy contentment, a Shell Oil geophysicist named M. King Hubbert made one of the more famous and hotly disputed predictions in the history of science: oil production in the United States would peak around 1970, and an oil crisis would follow.

Led by natural gas, overall energy production had grown by almost half, but consumption had grown faster. By 1970, American energy consumption had climbed to a level 10 percent greater than production. The big deficit was oil: imports were 25 percent of consumption. The next year, just as Hubbert had predicted, U.S. oil production peaked. Then, in late 1973, came the oil crisis.

Yet by 1985, this energy crisis was over. Its end was not due to domestic supply: America's energy production increased only 7 percent between 1970 and 1985. Rather, two other factors were responsible. First, industrial conservation efforts, combined with a series of economic recessions, limited the increase in overall American energy consumption by about 10 percent. Therefore, by 1985, American consumption was scarcely worse than 1970. Sec-

ond, foreign production of energy, especially non-OPEC oil, increased markedly in response to high energy prices. In 1986, prices collapsed as this increased supply met steady demand.

By 2000, unfortunately, the groundwork had been laid for another energy crisis. The production of energy continued to grow slowly, but consumption grew by 30 percent. American energy consumption was thus more than a third higher than production, and we imported almost 60 percent of our oil.

Two factors caused this consumption binge: immigration-driven population growth and growing per-capita energy use. Population grew by 15 percent from 1985 to 2000, driven by the mass immigration that followed the Immigration Act of 1965.

Per-capita energy consumption also rose more than 10 percent. The conservation programs of the '70s and '80s rightly targeted the most egregious wastes of energy in industry. But, starting in the '90s, there were no easy improvements left to make. There was no political will to tackle consumer over-consumption of energy, exemplified by such things as the urban sprawl mandated by government zoning regulations. And employment continued to grow faster than population, due in part to women having to work.

Since 1985, low foreign energy prices have also masked the consequences of America's growing energy shortage. Foreign supply continued to grow as discoveries made in the '80s came on line.

The collapse of communism in Russia, where oil consumption declined by more than half from Soviet levels, muted foreign demand. And the strong dollar let Americans buy foreign goods cheap.

According to the Energy Department's large-scale forecast, *Annual Energy Outlook 2003*, by 2015 American energy consumption will be about 50 percent greater than production. Oil imports will be 70 percent, natural gas imports 30 percent. And the *Outlook* optimistically assumes that energy consumption can be kept almost constant, while GDP grows by a third and real energy prices decline. This is doubtful. As Americans get richer, they will buy bigger SUVs, drive and fly more, and build bigger houses.

On the production side, the Energy Department forecasts 14 percent growth by 2015. This will certainly not happen without the oil and gas from the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), now closed by Congress to drilling. Outside of ANWR, natural gas production growth is stalling. A more realistic projection of production growth from 2000 to 2015 would be 7 percent, the same proportion by which American energy production grew in the 15 years prior to 2000 and the 15 years prior to that.

But the major flaw in the Energy Department's *Outlook* is its forecast of a gently lower price for oil. This is unlikely because all three of the favorable trends are going to reverse. Foreign oil production growth is slowing. Foreign

consumption of oil is increasing. And the dollar is declining because America produces relatively less of the goods and services the world wants. These trends will combine in the years and decades ahead to create a new energy crisis.

The biggest fact about oil is that there is only so much of it and no more. This key allowed Hubbert to predict the peak in U.S. oil production.

THE DISCOVERY OF **NEW OIL FIELDS PEAKED IN 1930**. OIL PRODUCTION REACHED ITS **HIGHEST LEVEL IN 1971**, WITH **ONSHORE PRODUCTION DECLINING** BY MORE THAN HALF SINCE THEN.

For any set of conventional oil fields, Hubbert hypothesized that production would follow a bell curve with peak production occurring when just over half of the total recoverable oil was produced. This would happen because there tends to be a wave of discovery of the biggest and best fields early on, allowing production to ramp up in these fields over time. But all conventional oil fields deplete. As the best early fields tap out, production must be replaced with more marginal fields. At some point, many decades after the best discoveries, actual production of oil maxes out. This is known as Hubbert's Peak.

The discovery of new oil fields in the U.S. peaked in 1930. Oil production in reached its highest level in 1971, with onshore production declining by more than half since then.

Many other countries have passed, or are nearing, their Hubbert's Peaks. Indonesia's oil fields, for example, were once so important that Japan was willing to go to war to seize them. Indonesian production peaked in 1977, and the country will be a net oil importer before this decade is out. Libya, Iran, and Romania peaked in the 1970s. Britain

peaked in 1999. In the next two decades, many other countries will do the same. Some time in this century, we will encounter the global Hubbert's Peak. World oil production will then start to decline.

Fortunately, the global Hubbert's Peak is a few decades away. For political reasons, Russia, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia will not strictly follow Hubbert's

model: respectively, the collapse of communism, 13 years of sanctions against Saddam Hussein, and the swing-producer strategy whereby Saudi Arabia restrains production except during severe oil-price spikes.

For technical reasons, the production of certain types of unconventional oil does not resemble a bell curve. Heavy oil shows step-function increases followed by decades of flat production, not the rise and fall of Hubbert's curves. And natural-gas liquids will grow with natural-gas production long after the production of cheap oil peaks.

Yet long before that, perhaps as early as 2015, two things will happen. First, the growth in world oil production from all sources will slow considerably, and production of conventional oil may well top out. Second, fewer countries will export much oil. Those that do will become more concentrated in the Middle East.

At the same time, world demand for oil and other forms of energy will continue to rise vigorously. Each year, demand for oil in China grows by almost 300,000 barrels a day. (China has the exports to pay for this oil.) Demand for

oil in India and across the world is also rising rapidly. People around the globe want the lifestyle that oil and energy provide.

South Korea is an example of just how much demand for oil can increase as a country develops. In 1970, South Korea consumed about 200,000 barrels of oil a day. In 2000, South Korea consumed about 2 million barrels of oil a day, 10 times as much. If China and India were to consume just *half* as much oil per-capita as South Korea does today, world demand for oil would be 50 percent higher.

If supply is constrained, but demand continues to rise, the price of oil is likely to go up. Indeed, its cost to Americans will rise as long as we fail to export enough goods and services to pay for all the oil, cars, clothes, and other things we want to buy, because the dollar will decline as long as we do so.

What is the answer to America's energy shortage?

The environmentalist Left talks about renewable energy such as biomass, wind, municipal-waste generation, solar, and geothermal. The Energy Department already forecasts that non-hydroelectric energy will double by 2015. (Hydro-electric will not grow because we have built almost all the big power dams we can.) But non-hydroelectric renewables will provide only 4 percent of America's energy then—helpful but not significant.

And there are reasons for doubting that we can even achieve that goal. What renewable energy we have today is due mainly to two factors: dam building by long-dead, white male water reclamation engineers and Bob Dole's crusade for ethanol. New sources of renewable energy must be built before they will provide power. For all its talk about exotic energy sources, the environmentalist Left often opposes projects that we can actually build.

Consider municipal-waste generation in New York, staunchly opposed by New York environmentalists. New York City creates more than its fair share of garbage and spends over \$1 billion a year to truck, rail, and barge it away to distant landfills. Burning half of that garbage would produce as much electricity as a nuclear power plant.

Or consider wind power off the East Coast. Long Island Power, for example, wants to build a giant wind farm south of Long Island that will supply half of the island's electricity. With exceptions, powerful environmentalists have not supported this project.

If the environmentalist Left is not credible on energy, what passes for conservatism is not much better. Very few conservative writers and think tanks focus on America's energy shortage. Much of what they write is vague and uninformed.

In October, Lewis Lehrman wrote a long, informed piece in the *Weekly Standard*. Lehrman acknowledged that we have a major energy problem, one likely to get worse if we do nothing.

Lehrman proposed three main solutions. First, "government intervention to double the share of nuclear power." Second, "a vast expansion of legal permissions for drilling crude oil and natural gas on public and private lands." Third, browbeating the oil sheikhs—"whose political existence depends to a large extent on U.S. military power"—into lowering oil prices.

Aside from their overwhelming emphasis on new and greater government power, the problem with Lehrman's ideas is that they just won't work.

Nuclear power? Neither utility executives nor state politicians want to build more nuclear plants. It is a non-starter. Moreover, there is no place to store the radioactive waste. A large government repository is planned for Yucca Mountain, north of Las Vegas. Yucca Mountain is the foundation for any revival of

nuclear power. Not talking about it, but actually building it soundly and moving there safely the 150 million pounds of nuclear waste now stored at existing plants will take two decades and will consume all the political will and government competence that can be spared for nuclear power.

Oil and gas? Aside from ANWR and the coast of California, Hubbert teaches us that there is not much left. Moreover, Hubbert also says that we will need the Alaskan oil much more in future decades than we need it now. Any increase in oil production today will simply make America's energy shortage worse two decades from now.

Hubbert's rule also explains why Lehrman's critique of Saudi oil policy makes no sense. Crude oil prices have been low for more than a decade—about \$20 a barrel or \$0.50 a gallon. Even today, they are only \$0.75 a gallon. (The rest is refining, retail, and taxes.) Perhaps prices might have been lower without Saudi production restraints. But

THE ANSWERS ARE **COAL AND CONSERVATION**, WITH CONSERVATION BEING LED BY AN **END TO MASS IMMIGRATION**.

Saudi restraint now means, by definition, that there is going to be more oil available in future decades when the world needs it even more. This is the rational technocratic long-term goal of Saudi national oil policy. It does not depend on who rules in Riyadh.

In short, neither the environmentalist Left nor the establishment Right has any real answers to America's energy shortage.

The answers are coal and conservation, with conservation being led by an end to mass immigration. All the rest is window dressing.

Coal is the unloved stepchild of American energy policy. It must be strip-mined. It requires enormous coal trains. It emits more than its share of greenhouse gases. Burning it produces mountains of mildly toxic waste.

But coal has one thing going for it: we have an awful lot of it. We have at least a quarter trillion tons of recoverable coal. We can double production and still not run out for well over 100 years. When America's energy shortage begins to bite, hard, into the lives of ordinary Americans, no amount of environmentalist whining is going to stop coal.

Conservation, on the other hand, is beloved by all and implemented by almost none. This is because, with one exception, real conservation requires changes in public policy that are unpopular and hard to implement. The tax code needs to be reformed to tax energy more and tax other things, especially savings, less. Zoning codes need to be reformed to encourage old-fashioned neighborhoods, not sprawl and subdivi-

sions. Infrastructure—such as new bridges and transit lines—needs to be built to reduce traffic jams and to facilitate mass transit.

The one policy that is both popular with the public and easy to implement is an end to mass immigration. Restricting legal immigration is a simple matter of government reducing the number of foreigners issued visas to work and live in America. Ending illegal immigration is more complicated but requires mainly that the government actually deport obvious illegals instead of giving them reasons to stay.

It is largely forgotten today, but the modern immigration-reform movement was founded in the 1970s by leaders of the environmental movement. Mass immigration is critical to conservation because it is the primary cause of American population growth. Mass immigration is going to drive American population from 300 million today to 400 million in 2050.

All else being equal, this means we are going to consume one-third more energy that we otherwise would. This extra 100 million people is equivalent to the existing metropolitan areas of Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, El Paso, Fargo, Grand Rapids, Houston, Indianapolis, Jacksonville, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, the Quad Cities, Raleigh, San Antonio, and Tampa, plus the states of Virginia, Wisconsin, and Utah.

No country staring down an energy crisis worse than 1973's can overcome such a power drain. ■

Robertson Morrow is a financial analyst in San Francisco.

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Flower Power

The neocons do an about-face on the Sixties.

By Paul Gottfried

WHEN *CHRONICLES* EDITOR Tom Fleming and I were considering for *The Conservative Movement* in 1988 what best defined the neoconservatives, what topped our list was dislike for the sixties. Whether Norman Podhoretz targeting his personal enemies or *Commentary* attacking the countercultural movement, one could always depend on the neocons to rail against the evil decade. James Nuechterlein's review of John Judis's biography of Bill Buckley, published in *Commentary* in 1987, upbraided its subject for not appreciating the fifties enough. Buckley had been so foolish as to "stand athwart" the Eisenhower era, instead of stressing its many virtues.

In the eighties, those chronicling the neoconservatives, for example Alexander Bloom and Peter Steinfels on the Left and George Nash on the Right, were agreed about their attitude toward the sixties. It was then commonly thought that, for the *Commentary* circle, the combination of violent student revolutionaries and anti-Semitism on the Left, particularly among blacks, had tripped certain wires. These ominous patterns reminded them of what they had heard about Nazi and Stalinist anti-Semitism and gave rise to their cultural pessimism.

By the nineties, however, these attitudes had changed. When Pat Buchanan was running for president in 1992, George Will went after him for "glorifying the fifties," a decade that Will considered full of racial injustice. On Dec. 12, 2002, in a syndicated column, Charles Krauthammer savaged Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) for

the senator's comments at Strom Thurmond's 100th birthday party. By making vague but favorable references to the states-rights platform Thurmond had adopted as a Dixiecrat presidential candidate in 1948, Lott "gave evidence of an historical blindness that is utterly disqualifying for national office." The Civil Rights Revolution of the sixties provided, for Krauthammer, the moral high moment in our history, by "validating America's original promise of freedom and equality for all Americans." According to Jamie Glazov, in *FrontPage Magazine*, before the civil rights victories of the sixties, our land labored under "a darkness in which all Americans were submerged because of racism."

Following this division of historical time into prolonged darkness and sudden redemptive light, Linda Chavez scolded the justices who favored race-based selection at the University of Michigan for betraying the sixties. That decade, according to Chavez, "made us a more just society," beginning with Martin Luther King's crusade for a "color-blind society." With this ideal, which the Court now scorned, King had "launched a civil rights revolution that was embraced by the American people and led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights and Immigration Acts of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968." Never mind the counterfactuals: that affirmative action was introduced as early as 1966 by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which the Civil Rights Act had created, and

was then expanded under Nixon in 1969, that Martin Luther King advocated a more sweeping spoils system for minorities than the one we have now, and that several of my teachers and many of my classmates while growing up in Connecticut in the 1950s were black. Most importantly, neoconservatives have turned the sixties into a decade that they would have us believe made us morally better.

Buttressing this perspective is David Frum's made-to-order book of observations, *How We Got Here: The '70s*, which shifts the target of "conservative" social and political criticism from the sixties to the next decade. Here the sixties are depicted as mostly an extension of what was best in the fifties, minus some of the racism, McCarthyite hysteria, and security excesses. (This last critical comment about the anti-Communist fifties may require amendment in future editions in light of the security measures taken in the current War on Terror.) In any case, it was not until the seventies that, according to Frum's interpretation, what was truly revolutionary about the sixties and the counterculture had firmly established itself.

While this argument is partly true, particularly with regard to the rise of feminism and gay rights, it does not pay sufficient attention to that legislated sea change that took place in the sixties. Given the likely effects of the Voting Rights and Immigration Acts, it is not at all surprising that the government and politicians should offer minority quotas to please an expanded electorate. Note that the recipients of these giveaways have been told repeatedly since the sixties that they are victims of majority white oppression. And given that extra-constitutional bureaucrats have been empowered to combat "discrimination" in jobs, admissions, and housing, is it any wonder that these mandarins continue to push the envelope? Only the

self-deluded or ideologically blind would not expect this to happen.

But why have the neocons engaged in this apparent reassessment of the sixties? There are several reasons that may be relevant. The younger generation, the minicons, have no clear idea of what America was like two generations ago. They have therefore swallowed, by default or through social contacts, the leftist account of American society before its transformation in the sixties. And though most of the older neocons probably do not believe the United States was as wicked as they now tell us it was, it is useful to exaggerate, for the sake of friendly relations with the liberal establishment. Making noise about the prejudiced fifties creates solidarity on the Left, especially when neocons are fighting those on their Right, who can be accused correctly of preferring the fifties to the nineties.

Most of the neoconservatives, moreover, never disliked the sixties as much as they appeared to. What they lambasted were particular developments that arose during that period, such as the pro-Palestinian position of the New Left, the obnoxious lifestyles associated with the

theirs as Daniel Bell and Nathan Glazer openly supported George McGovern for president. Bill Kristol blurted out, during an interview with E.J. Dionne in 1997, that the Great Society's programs had made "America better." Such a view being expressed by a neocon is not unprecedented and can be found in the back issues of the *Public Interest* and in the tracts of Ben Wattenberg. While an NBC commentator in 1994, Kristol fretted, after learning about the Republican congressional victory, that Republican congressmen might say or do something that would offend social liberals. Here the son was imitating his father, who in 1976 during the Republican presidential primaries editorialized in the *Wall Street Journal* against challenger Ronald Reagan. Irving Kristol was then a spokesman for "moderate conservative" Jerry Ford.

What may be new about this latest expression of "moderation" is its relation to a foreign-policy consensus centering on neoconservative goals. Bill Kristol and other minicons would like to make up with the Center Left while pushing forward the "struggle against terrorism." Thus John Podhoretz went ballistic when

THE YOUNGER GENERATION, THE MINICONS, HAVE NO CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT AMERICA WAS LIKE TWO GENERATIONS AGO.

counterculture, and disruptive antiwar protesters. Such concerns do not represent a conservative reaction to the massive social engineering that began in the sixties. Grumbling about a foul-smelling hippy is not the same as objecting to the federal government's restructuring of the ethnic composition of neighborhoods—or of the entire country.

A journalistic misconception notwithstanding, most of the neoconservatives did not spend the sixties galloping rightward, and in 1972 such leading lights of

Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) explained the perilous implications of having the courts sanction homosexual marriage. According to young Podhoretz, writing in the *New York Post*, Santorum, by giving in to his Catholic convictions, had become a "bull in a china shop" and "was just not getting it." "Our nation's culture war died an unmourned death on 9/11, when it was clear that whatever differences the Americans had with each other in matters of lifestyle were nothing compared to the murderous hunger of our terrorist adver-

saries who would happily kill all of us, no matter what we did in the bedroom.”

An even more conspicuous overture to the pink persuasion occurred in *National Review Online*, when Jonah Goldberg offered astringent advice to his readers about homosexual marriage: “The challenge for social conservatives, it seems to me, is to make the best of what they consider a bad situation. But

that would require some painful capitulations—intellectual, moral, and financial. It would also require gay activists to understand that they’ve won and that the best course of action for them would be magnanimity in victory. Unfortunately, this is all unlikely since both camps are in denial about how far gays have come.”

There it is for all to behold, the reaching out by neocons to those who are social liberals but who may share their foreign-policy interests. Why should neo-conservatives bother to stick with those who adamantly insist that all marital unions be heterosexual? Other issues may be sufficiently overshadowing to “require” the Right—that is, neocons and their hangers-on—to bite the bullet on this one.

Put bluntly: John Podhoretz and Jonah Goldberg are not becoming socially sensitive in a void. They might be looking to throw a bone to such potential allies as Peter Beinert and Andrew Sullivan and to others, particularly at the *New Republic*, who have put together a position package consisting of homosexual marriage, intense Likud sympathy, and a global-democratic foreign policy. In a similar way, David Horowitz made clear, when he started his Web site, *War Room*, last year, that he was hoping for an alliance on American campuses between the pro-war Left and the pro-war Right. Such a rapprochement seemed natural given the common threat, coming from antiwar and pro-Palestinian demonstrators.

What all of this means is that neocons are tacking to the Left. They are moving beyond compulsory worship of the sixties into making their peace with the seventies. Perhaps they may decide on other fallback positions to look a bit more different from their debating partners on TV. In August on Fox News, for example, Sean Hannity revealed a new litmus test for the conservative establishment that does not require a controversial stand about any decade. One simply browbeats one’s adversarial guest about “not being as proud about America as we are.” The accuser levels the charge while staring at the accused with great solemnity. When the guest “liberal,” in this case Ellen Ratner, protested that she was a “proud American,” albeit with reservations about the invasion of Iraq, Hannity’s response was “you really don’t mean it.” Evidently one can be politically obnoxious without raising issues of substance.

But Hannity, who for weeks kept referring to the pro-choice and pro-homosexual-union Republican candidate in the California gubernatorial race as “definitely a social moderate,” does know how to get with the program. He understands one should avoid insulting the Left as long as it supports what is loosely called the War on Terror. For him and his neocon pals, cultural and social differences going back to the sixties are there to be bargained away. After all, we are led to believe, being for homosexual unions is the mark of a “social moderate” and patriot as long as one endorses the president’s policy in the Middle East. Only those who won’t meet the Left halfway might be said to resist this judgment, while stumbling around “in denial.” ■

Paul Gottfried is a professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College and the author of Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt.

United States Postal Service Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation			
1. Publication Title The American Conservative		2. Publication Number 1 5 4 0 - 9 6 6 X	
3. Filing Date 9/29/03		4. Issue Frequency Bi-Weekly	
5. Number of Issues Published Annually 24		6. Annual Subscription Price \$49.97	
7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication (Not printer) (Street, city, county, state, and ZIP+4) 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120 Arlington, VA 22209			
8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher (Not printer) 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120 Arlington, VA 22209			
9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (Do not leave blank) Publisher (Name and complete mailing address) The American Conservative, 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209 Editor (Name and complete mailing address) Scott McConnell, Patrick Buchanan, Taki Theodoracopulos all at The American Conservative, 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209 Managing Editor (Name and complete mailing address) Kara Hopkins The American Conservative 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120 Arlington, VA 22209			
10. Owner (Do not leave blank. If the publication is owned by a corporation, give the name and address of the corporation immediately followed by the names and addresses of all stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, give the names and addresses of the individual owners. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, give its name and address as well as those of each individual owner. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, give its name and address.)			
Full Name		Complete Mailing Address	
The American Conservative, LLC		1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120 Arlington, VA 22209	
Scott McConnell		1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120 Arlington, VA 22209	
Patrick Buchanan		1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120 Arlington, VA 22209	
Taki Theodoracopulos		1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120 Arlington, VA 22209	
11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, check box <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> None			
Full Name		Complete Mailing Address	
12. Tax Status (For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates) (Check one) The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes: <input type="checkbox"/> Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months <input type="checkbox"/> Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months (Publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement)			
13. Publication Title The American Conservative		14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below October 6, 2003	
15. Extent and Nature of Circulation		Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	
a. Total Number of Copies (Net press run)		15,243	
b. Paid and/or Requested Circulation		16,924	
(1) Paid Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions Stated on Form 3541 (Include advertiser's proof and exchange copies)		6,117	
(2) Paid In-County Subscriptions Stated on Form 3541 (Include advertiser's proof and exchange copies)		0	
(3) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Non-USPS Paid Distribution		2,166	
(4) Other Classes Mailed Through the USPS		0	
c. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation (Sum of 15b.(1), (2), (3), and (4))		8,283	
d. Free Distribution by Mail (Samples, complimentary, and other free)		2,573	
(1) Outside County as Stated on Form 3541		0	
(2) In-County as Stated on Form 3541		0	
(3) Other Classes Mailed Through the USPS		0	
e. Free Distribution Outside the Mail (Carriers or other means)		97	
f. Total Free Distribution (Sum of 15d. and 15e.)		2,670	
g. Total Distribution (Sum of 15c. and 15f.)		10,953	
h. Copies not Distributed		4,290	
i. Total (Sum of 15g. and h.)		15,243	
j. Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation (15c. divided by 15g. times 100)		76%	
k. Publication of Statement of Ownership		92%	
16. Publication of Statement of Ownership <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Publication required. Will be printed in the _____ issue of this publication. <input type="checkbox"/> Publication not required.			
17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner Scott McConnell 9/29/03			

Arts & Letters

FILM

[*Intolerable Cruelty*]

O Brother

By Steve Sailer

IT'S FASHIONABLE in Hollywood for brothers to team up to make movies, probably because it's a clever way to achieve the artistic integrity of the *auteur* method without its crushing workload and lonely megalomania. The most experienced and consistently delightful "frauteurs" are Joel and Ethan Coen, whose tenth film together is the relentlessly amusing screwball romantic comedy "Intolerable Cruelty." Like the pregnant sheriff played by Joel's wife Frances McDormand in her Oscar role in "Fargo," the brothers, amidst all the weirdness of their movies, just keep getting the job done with good humor and efficiency.

The Coens are to Hollywood what Tom Stoppard, author of "Rosencrantz & Guildenstern Are Dead," is to the stage: enormously bright and funny innovators. And like Stoppard, their best efforts (to my mind, "The Hudsucker Proxy," "The Big Lebowski," and "O Brother, Where Art Thou?") are subversively cheerful.

This drives many critics to dismiss both Stoppard and the Coens as emotionally shallow. Psychologist Peter D. Kramer, author of *Listening to Prozac*, has pointed out that because so many artists are depressives (especially manic-depressives), our culture tends not to take seriously creative individuals who strike us as, well, depressingly happy and healthy. We stereotype them

as inauthentic because they aren't suffering mightily enough for our edification.

Unfortunately, though, the Coens haven't been laughing all the way to the bank. It's always been a struggle for them to find a big enough audience to justify their almost unique arrangement in which they enjoy studio financing without studio control. Their nine movies have in total grossed only \$134 million domestically, which is what the Wachowski brothers' "Matrix Reloaded" earned during its first four days.

Like Stoppard's plays, the Coens' movies have often been too complex to be enjoyed on a first viewing. "O Brother" languished in limited release for months before its wonderful soundtrack of 1930s country music made it a modest hit. "Lebowski" never caught on until it came out on video. And "Hudsucker," which is one of the few recent movies actually to deserve the adjective Capraesque, remains rarely seen.

The Coens keep costs low by storyboarding each shot ahead of time, like Alfred Hitchcock, which lets them methodically zip through their shooting schedules. Still, their budget desires have grown over the years, and they

Perhaps in response, "Intolerable Cruelty" is their most commercial movie. George Clooney plays Beverly Hills' most ruthless divorce attorney, but he meets his match in Catherine Zeta-Jones, who collects and discards rich husbands. The story is reasonably predictable. After all, how can the two most glamorous-looking of modern stars not wind up together?

The profit logic of romantic comedies is obvious—you don't need to blow up Tokyo. But movies have stumbled into a comedic dry spell in recent years, perhaps because most of the joke-writing talent got sucked into television during the sitcom boom back in the nineties. So the Coens have turned their extravagant fertility of invention to punching up the jokes in a script begun by others. They went more for quantity than quality (although there's one climactic sight gag that will make all the highlight reels). Still, there are simply so many jokes that it would be churlish to complain too much that they aren't as original as in "Lebowski."

Zeta-Jones is so beautiful that women have trouble identifying with her, so she's best cast as a bad girl, like Elizabeth Hurley, only with acting talent.

THE PROFIT LOGIC OF ROMANTIC COMEDIES IS OBVIOUS—YOU DON'T NEED TO BLOW UP TOKYO.

recently endured a sizable setback when their long-planned production of "To the White Sea" went under. Brad Pitt was to have played a WWII tailgunner shot down during the firebombing of Japan. There would have been almost no dialogue as he tried to elude capture. Ultimately, this combination of unusual style with massive special effects proved too risky to secure adequate backing.

Clooney was a late bloomer. In the 1980s, when Sean Penn was already acclaimed the acting prodigy of his generation, Clooney was stuck with minor roles in such films as "Return of the Killer Tomatoes: The Sequel." Yet, he's now the more intriguing talent. As strong as Penn's performance is in Clint Eastwood's new "Mystic River," he's just doing The Sean Penn Role again—the

fierce but slightly defective-looking tough guy in torment.

In contrast, with Clooney these days, you never know what you'll get. The Coens highlighted his resemblance to Clark Gable in "O Brother," and here they have him channeling a mildly cartoonish Cary Grant. Imagine the devious Walter Burns from "His Girl Friday," only popeyed with unrequited love. It's not fair to measure any actor against Grant, who was arguably the greatest movie star ever, but for the ability to be sexy and funny simultaneously, Clooney can stand the comparison as well as anybody. ■

Rated PG-13 for sexual content, language, and brief violence.

Steve Sailer is TAC's film critic and a reporter for UPI.

BOOKS

[*Wealth, Poverty, and Human Destiny*, Doug Bandow and David L. Schindler, eds., ISI Books, 538 pages]

The Christian Moral Economy

By Cicero Bruce

Under the auspices of the John Temple Foundation and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, editors Doug Bandow and David L. Schindler have brought together in *Wealth, Poverty, and Human Destiny* a dozen interrelated essays on the moral, spiritual, and religious implications of the global economy. Both the essayists and the editors are earnest espousers of traditional doctrinal Christianity who are mutually concerned about issues related to the book's title. But their thinking about the world's poorest and the object of life in relation to the new economic order divides, quite surprisingly, into two very different points of view.

One is articulated by Bandow and his six contributors, who contend that, in terms of absolute poverty, the poorest segments of countries that have liberated their markets, encouraged international trade, and welcomed foreign investment within their borders are economically far better off than their counterparts living in countries where markets are closed or governmentally restricted.

They further point out that discussions of relative poverty, or economic inequality, tell us nothing about the creation of wealth, upon which depends the (physical) well-being of the poor. Removing barriers to free trade and allowing more migration from poor to rich countries is the most practicable way, they insist, of insuring that the poorest among us are not only fed and clothed, but also presented with possibilities to lift themselves out of the ravages of poverty.

Bandow's eminent contenders are Father Richard John Neuhaus and lay theologian Michael Novak. Neuhaus builds a plausible case for economic liberalism by presenting Pope John Paul II's *Centesimus Annus* as an implicit affirmation of America's "liberal tradition." From the same encyclical, Novak infers a justification for an expanding global economy committed to "universal opportunity." Notwithstanding his otherwise considerable defense of the neoconservative position, Novak verges on absurdity where he implicitly likens human interaction within the multinational corporation to a communion on a globally grand scale.

Neuhaus also invites criticism. Insofar as he defines Catholicism as a form of liberalism, his logic relies upon a semantically false premise. Catholicism, in spite of Neuhaus's intriguing argument to the contrary, is the very antithesis of liberalism properly understood. In contradistinction to Catholicism, liberalism, as it derives from state of nature scenarios conjured up in the minds of Enlightenment thinkers, imagines men to be subject to no authority other than individuated intelligences and, as

Schindler insightfully points out in his editor's response, "invests rights in [individuals] independent of [their] relations to family" and abstracted from the ordering creaturehood of God.

Bandow's most surprising contributor is Jennifer Roback Morse, whose essay seems to be included as a bridge between the book's opposing views. She reminds us that we are all, late or soon, dependent on others, be it in infancy or in sickness or in palsied old age. Despite this certainty, many of us, she observes, celebrate self-reliance to a fault and mistakenly associate dependency with weakness, denying ourselves the one thing the world truly needs—namely, the needy. Besides institutionalizing the elderly and expecting the government to support the disabled, we place our offspring in supposedly beneficent day-care centers, transforming the care of children into "one more commodity, another household expense," and obscuring the reality of "just how profound our initial helplessness is."

There is nothing objectionable in Morse's suggesting that we humanize society "by embracing those who are legitimately dependent on us." There is nothing wrong with encouraging us to take personal care of our offspring, "so they know they are loved and the world is worth being part of and contributing to." There is nothing morally repugnant about calling us to take personal care of our disabled or elderly relatives, so they know "they are loved, and their lives have meaning and value." Indeed, we ought to commit ourselves to doing all of this, "so that we have an opportunity," as Morse writes, "to take a vacation from the world of exchange and live in the world of gift at least some of the time." But, as contributor David Crawford observes, to insist on the priority of gift only "with respect to family relations" and not "with respect to the public [economic] order" is to settle "for an incoherent anthropology."

In other words, Morse ignores the fact that self-interest, in which she heartily trusts, cannot be reconciled with selflessness, the anthropological crux of

Christianity that warrants her plea for a humane free society. Nor can selflessness be expected to endure where capitalism abounds unchecked, since, as Crawford points out, “[E]conomic exchange is ... a fundamental form of community that profoundly molds society itself.” It is this indisputability that seems to be lost on Badow’s free-market apologists, who mistakenly presuppose that democratic capitalism constitutes a neutral ground on which self-interested human beings can freely realize their private destinies.

Schindler’s six contributors engage in a rigorous dialectic to show that the emerging economic order is neither as neutral nor as free as neoconservatives think. Crawford and the other essayists who challenge Badow’s point of view make the imperative, if difficult, metaphysical argument that freedom and human destiny, rightly construed, depend for meaning not on self-realization within the global economy but on an ontology prior to self and society, a ground of being defined by a first and final cause in which, to quote St. Paul, “we live, move, and have our being.”

Without a final end (*telos*) to guide them, individuals are subject, as William T. Cavanaugh makes clear in his signal contribution, to the arbitrary competition of wills that gives rise to a set of illusions fostered by a dominant class to insure its own continued dominance.

Today’s dominant class appears to be made up of liberal intellectuals who foster the illusions that God is dead, that man is self-sufficient, that civilization gets better with every human impulse it unleashes and with every traditional restraint it overthrows. Yet Schindler’s writers underscore the truth that liberal intellectuals are but tools in the hands of the actual dominant force: global corporations that wield economic power, power that is absolute in the new world order, power that the liberal intellectuals unwittingly serve by providing corporate advertisers in the so-called neutral market with illusions to package and sell for handsome profits.

“Wherever the market is ‘neutral,’” writes contributor Adrian Walker, “there *homo economicus* is busily at work remaking society in its own image.” Nowhere is this more apparent than in Hollywood, whose celluloid productions determine to a large extent America’s habit of mind. Hollywood’s message is clear: no one need take seriously ultimate things such as death, judgment, heaven, or hell. Death for most Hollywood elites is meaningful only insofar as

viduality “is always already an expression of community, even as individuality itself conditions and is presupposed by the original meaning of community,” which finds quintessential expression in the married couple and family, the first and fundamental communion of mankind.

Intended as background to the other essays in *Wealth, Poverty, and Human Destiny* are two pieces included as appendices, one by Wendell Berry and

SCHINDLER’S WRITERS UNDERSCORE THE TRUTH THAT **LIBERAL INTELLECTUALS ARE BUT TOOLS IN THE HANDS OF THE ACTUAL DOMINANT FORCE: GLOBAL CORPORATIONS THAT WIELD ECONOMIC POWER**

its depiction satisfies morally confused theater patrons upon whom *homo economicus* (the film producer) relies for lucrative box-office returns.

As Schindler demonstrates in the most astute of the two editors’ responses, intellectual liberalism and liberal economics share an inner logic that “tends to fragment a person’s relations to God, others, the world, and the family, thus rendering man ‘homeless’ in the deepest sense.” This logic has its genesis in the thought of Hobbes and Locke. For these two early liberationists, as Russell Hittinger has recently observed in *The First Grace*, the various authorities around which societies organize themselves derive not from God, but from “covenants of individuals constrained to reach a consensus on the basis of what is (or seems) self-evident.”

Central to Schindler’s response is the idea that man is but a sojourner in this world, an alien of a kind who finds himself truly at home in an “original and abiding ontological community with God,” from within which, and only from within which, each person “has his meaning as an individual.” It follows upon this premise that, contrary to the defining assumptions of liberalism, individuality and community presuppose one another. As Schindler puts it, indi-

another by Max Stackhouse and Lawrence Stratton. Stackhouse and Stratton’s is a “bibliographical essay” in support of globalism and the acceleration of technological development relative to it. What warrants comment is not the essay’s substance, but rather its obvious disregard for ontocratic discourse, the language, that is, of those whose idea of order issues not from *cogitamus ergo sumus* (we think, therefore we are) but from *cogitat Deus ergo sumus* (God thinks, therefore we are), not from the rule of what seems self-evident, but from the rule (*-cracy*) of being (*onto-*). As Schindler points out, the authors’ claim “that Christian theology underpins technology in its hallmark modern sense is made ... in a way that sets aside without discussion an entire stream of historical Christianity.” Schindler has in mind the ontocratic theology of Maximus, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, whose work informs the thought of G.K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, George Grant, and other salient ontocrats of the 20th century.

Berry, perhaps America’s last agrarian intellectual, takes an unabashed stand for “the principles of neighborhood and subsistence.” His, the globalists will chide, is a stand for “protectionism,” and they will be right, says Berry, because “that is

exactly what it is." Back of Berry's campaign is a pained remembrance of the American subsistence farmer of yore, who, after growing dependent on ready money for his cash crops, became a servant to the market and a victim of its fluctuations. Berry knows that the global economy envisioned by neoconservatives can be realized and sustained "only if nations and localities accept or ignore the inherent instability of a production economy based on exports and a consumer economy based on imports." Because they are "beyond local influence," export and import economies depend on inexpensive, unencumbered long-distance transport, which "is possible only if granted cheap fuel, international peace, control of terrorism, prevention of sabotage, the solvency of international economy," and an ideological assumption that wars (as Berry prophetically remarks) "are legitimate and permanent economic functions."

Of these cogent tracts for and against the new Leviathanism, those commissioned by Schindler are finally the most concerned about economics, that is, if *economics* is rightly seen as a word derivationally related to stewardship or household management. Schindler's essayists defy neoconservatism and its sentimental assumption "that everything small, local, private, personal, natural, good, and beautiful" (as Berry puts it) "must be sacrificed in the interest of the 'free market' and the great corporations, which will bring unprecedented security and happiness to 'the many'—in, of course, the future." Statistically compelling and religiously informed though their essays are, Badow's champions of global capitalism ultimately lose sight of the metaphysical reality that man is something more than a belly to fill. Schindler's ontocrats, on the other hand, are ever mindful that in the end, as Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote, "a starved man exceeds a fat beast." ■

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[*Day Care Deception: What The Child Care Establishment Isn't Telling Us*, Brian Robertson, Encounter Books, 222 pages]

Suffer the Children

By Mary Walsh

IN THE RECENT PAST, a pediatrician hired my friend's daughter as a nanny for her older daughter and triplets. She was a sweet, responsible girl saving money for college. When the time came for her to leave, she broke the news as easily as she could to her young charges. The older child confided in the nanny that her mother liked to get a new nanny every six months anyway so that the triplets wouldn't become attached to any one sitter. When I first heard this story, I was speechless. The efforts of this selfish mother would not only keep her children from bonding with her but with anyone else as well.

Brian Robertson explodes the commonly accepted myths that surround any discussion of day care in *Day Care Deception*. Well reasoned and painstakingly documented, the book chronicles the societal changes that brought mothers of preschoolers into the work force, the economic factors and corporate pressures that compel them to remain, and the resulting devastation to children who have become modern-day orphans in a society that devalues motherhood.

From 1970 to 1995, the number of married working mothers more than doubled. Experts marginalized parents; they were expendable. As David Blankenhorn, founder of the Institute of American Values, points out, "The problem with the welfare culture was not non-working mothers but the absence of working fathers." Wiser, family-friendly public policy should have focused on job training and placement for fathers rather than letting government become, in effect, Daddy's paycheck. Some Republicans, in

an effort to stem the tide of red ink running from Washington, floated the idea of government orphanages, which of course only served to make them look sinister by their thoughtlessness. In fact, a better cultural change was in order. As Robertson so instructively quotes Blankenhorn again, "As a national strategy for reversing the decline of child well-being, the fatherhood idea is far more consistent with the better angels of our nature than either the prison idea or the orphanage idea."

There is no question that children left in day care have their natural bonding periods disrupted and feel abandoned by those who care about them the most. As a mother or father drops off a child and feels those pangs of guilt as the infant screams or the silent eyes follow them down the sidewalk, they should think twice about the messages they are sending to their children and what havoc will result from the disruption of the most basic of human bonds.

The Columbine shooters, Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, were once two little boys who had the natural process of their emotional development arrested by day care. The disconnectedness didn't stop there. Dylan's tuned-out parents never took the complaints of others seriously when confronted with his delinquent behavior. They must have been too busy keeping the roof over their half-million-dollar house and seven cars in the driveway, including four BMWs. In a creative writing assignment, Dylan's story-focused on Satan operating a day-care center in hell. Eric's similarly out of touch parents never bothered to look in their teenager's bedroom as he built explosives. In his good-bye video taped before the killings, Eric breathed, "Thank God my parents never searched my room."

The problems posed by negligent parents are legion. As Robertson points out, more and more parents spend less and less time at home, leaving latchkey kids to entertain themselves, often sexually. As the case of Dylan and Eric clearly illustrates, affluence is no substitute for parental direction, involvement, and affection.

Day care profoundly affects a child's emotional, psychological, and physical health. Dr. Edward Zigler asserts, "[T]he years children spend in low-quality day care is a major cause of the biggest increase in the rate of child violence and depression that our country has ever witnessed." Countless articles bemoan

centers "the open sewers of the twentieth century."

The news is full of stories about over-prescribed antibiotics weakening immunities, but who is demanding antibiotics unnecessarily? Often it's the parent whose child needs to get back to day care. No matter how delightfully deco-

women who drop their kids off some place before they go to work or leave them at home with the nanny. These journalists are not just defending working mothers—they're defending themselves!"

Precisely because of this circle-the-wagons attitude, day care has become the new third rail of American politics. Touch it and you die. Dr. T. Berry Brazelton and Dr. Spock both learned to soft-peddle their opinions on day care in response to the outcries of working mothers. Jay Belsky, a researcher formerly of the National Institute of Child Health and Development, began his career as a pro-day-care researcher but was convinced by mounting piles of damaging evidence that day care was not the panacea it was cracked up to be and in fact was actually devastating to children's emotional, psychological, and physical health. Studies showed that day care led to aggressive, non-compliant behavior, temper tantrums, fighting, and explosive behavior. As fellow researchers tried to put a positive spin on these 2001 findings, Belsky mused, "I sometimes feel like I'm in the old Soviet Union where only certain facts are allowed to be in the news." He went on, "I've come to believe that too much of social science research, especially as it gets dis-

"AMERICA'S NEWSROOMS ARE FILLED WITH WOMEN WHO DROP THEIR KIDS OFF SOME PLACE BEFORE THEY GO TO WORK ... THESE JOURNALISTS ARE NOT JUST DEFENDING WORKING MOTHERS—THEY'RE DEFENDING THEMSELVES!"

the over-medication of a generation of kids. Dare we perceive a link between depression and feelings of childhood abandonment?

With regard to physical health, day care is an abysmal failure. Babies are more susceptible to illness, basic sanitary conditions are not met with regard to diaper changing and feeding, nurturing relationships are missing, as are sufficient toys and books for intellectual growth. The high turnover rate of commercial centers makes attachment nearly impossible.

The risks associated with day care are well known to pediatricians and epidemiologists. Eighty-two percent of children who are sick continue to attend day care. Children in day care are hospitalized three to four times as often as their at home counterparts. Pneumococcal disease is 36 times higher in children under two in day care. Hemophilus influenza type B is 12 times higher, while the incidence of diarrhea is 15 to 20 times higher for children in day care. Even SIDS has been called "disproportionately high" for children in day care. While 3 percent of at-home kids require ear tubes, 22 percent of children in day care do.

Such unhealthy statistics have led one medical researcher to say that the epidemiological outbreaks of day-care centers are "reminiscent of the pre-sanitation days of the seventeenth century." In 1991, an epidemiologist termed day-care

rated the "popsicle room" is for the vomiters, or the "polka dot" room for the chicken-pox infected, or the "stuffies' room" for those with respiratory ailments, sick kids belong at home with Mom and chicken soup, not stored in day care.

Bernard Goldberg, former CBS News correspondent, calls the day-care story "the most important story you never saw on TV." Why? He explains, "It is that the media elites will not take on feminists. Feminists are the pressure group that the media elites (and their wives and friends) are most aligned with. ... America's newsrooms are filled with



"Every employee is entitled to free daycare for their children, aging parents, unemployed spouses, pets and houseplants."

seminated, is ideology masquerading as science."

Children cannot raise themselves and need love and attention to thrive. Common sense and the natural order of things tell us this. Children are not Chia pets existing on air and water. The more that is discovered with regard to infant bonding and attachment, the more data confirm that even the youngest of premature babies thrive on love and nurturing and wither without it. Witness the failure to thrive of many Romanian orphans, left in the cribs without attention.

Burton White, former director of the Harvard Preschool Program, states, "I would not think of putting an infant or toddler of my own into a substitute care program on a full term basis, especially a center based program." A Yale study found that "Group care, even under the best of circumstances, is stressful for very young children."

Group care is both highly profitable for commercial centers and strictly regimented. (Even center workers only get a discount for their own children.) A typical day is filled with boredom, regimented activities, impatient staffers, little individual instruction, and sick children.

Another subject entirely is the matter of "family friendly" corporations. These companies may boast on-site day care, day-care referral, and "pumping rooms" (as if a nursing mother were some sort of cow), and yet Robertson opines, "Family friendly benefits do not, as it turns out, include job security or paying one parent enough to support a family on a single income." Corporations including Aetna, All State, American Express, Johnson & Johnson, Xerox, Citibank, and others fund the American Business Collaboration for Quality Dependent Care with \$136 million a year.

What is the government's cut in the day-care debacle? More workers increase the tax base and Social Security payments. The push for national day care comes at the expense of mothers at home and those who wish to be. Mothers taking care of their children at home

do not receive any kind of day-care tax credit nor do parents using non-center care such as relatives or friends. Those who use center-based care are eligible.

Day-care mythology preaches that parents need day care. Yet the average income of a family using commercial day care is \$75,000. Compare that with the average income of a traditional family—\$41,883—or two parents working: \$64,026. Consumer prices are reflective of the increased trend toward two-income households. The cost of housing from 1970-1988 rose 64 percent relative to income for one-earner households; as compared with two working parents, the cost increased 38 percent.

Robertson concludes with an insightful question from Dr. Laura Schlessinger to a group of working mothers, "If you could come back as an infant, stand up if you would rather be raised by a daycare worker, a nanny, or a babysitter (rather than your own mother). Stand up now.' Not one of the women in the audience moved. 'Then why,' she asked, 'Are you going to do this to your children?'" Why indeed?

Sometimes we only get the opportunity to do things once. Raising our children is one of those things. Who's going to call you Mommy? Will you be there to kiss the boo-boos and see the joy in their dancing eyes, or feel their fat little arms around your neck? Fourteen years ago, I left Capitol Hill to pursue full-time motherhood. My oldest sons, who once pushed plastic mowers around the yard now use the power mowers and eat like industrial vacuum cleaners. My three daughters constantly draw and create beautiful things while keeping conversation at a lively pace. My middle son is a pure joy. As I finished reading this gut-wrenching analysis on day care, I looked in my two-year-old son's eyes and gave him a tight squeeze. There are simply things in life that don't come with a price tag, and we are an impoverished nation if we cannot take care of our own flesh and blood. ■

Mary Walsh is a writer in Fredricksburg, Va.

MUSIC

Single Guy

By Anthony Gancarski

THE OTHER DAY, I did something I hadn't done for months, if not years. I bought a CD single. Specifically, a single recorded by Hoboken, N.J. indie-rock mainstays Yo La Tengo entitled "Nuclear War," a surprisingly faithful cover of a 1982 track by free-jazz iconoclast Sun Ra. Like the original, the Yo La Tengo version is rooted in call-and-response loops that drive home two messages: nuclear war is more or less inevitable, and it will take us all down when it comes.

I couldn't resist buying this single. The price was reasonable; at \$3.49, it cost less than half of what most major label singles cost these days. And like the Sun Ra version of the track two decades prior, Yo La Tengo's "Nuclear War" was released as a stand-alone track; this decision allowed the veteran Jersey trio neatly to circumvent the music industry's tendency to downplay individual songs, however fabulous, in favor of promoting a full-length album, a tendency that has rendered the single (and the pop song itself) irrelevant to a degree unimaginable just a few years ago.

There was a time when singles, rather than albums, were what mattered. Early recording technology didn't allow for sides to be longer than a couple of minutes. In the early part of the 20th century, the playback speeds of records varied from 60 to 100 RPM; it took decades for industry leaders like Columbia Records and HMV to settle in at 78 RPM. Generally speaking, it was understood that increased RPMs meant that the sides would be shorter and the sound quality of the songs would be better, so a necessary balance was to be struck between fidelity and length.

Contrary to currently popular belief, the music on 78s was wildly diverse, reflecting geographical and ethnic origin

as well as purpose. A small sample of titles released on the format: "Washboard Blues" by Red Nichols and His Five Pennies; "Owl Eyes" by the Mat Matthews Quintet; "Tippin' In" featuring the tenor sax of George Auld, who was perhaps most famous for his work with the Benny Goodman Orchestra; "The Pearls" by Jelly Roll Morton; and Duke Ellington's "Jolly Wog."

As artists and producers became more familiar with recording technology, they began to find ways to record more instruments; Chicago native Gene Krupa, famous for such songs as the haunting "What Goes On Here In My Heart," figured out that the sound of the bass drum could be recorded if the instrument were muted, so he did just that, filling the instrument with discarded scraps of cloth.

Throughout the decades in which jazz in its myriad forms dominated the American cultural firmament, the single necessarily drove the music business. The technology was both cheap and accessible enough to facilitate the emergence of record labels in many major cities. Documentary evidence indicates that there were no less than 1,100 record labels domestically between the years of 1890 and 1943. Some of these imprints, such as Aco, Arto, Autograph, Black

Swan, and Cameo-Kid Records, only lasted for a handful of years during the 1920s. Other imprints were even more short-lived: Black Patti Records didn't survive 1927, the year of its inception; the same claim can be made for the Chatauqua and Sunshine labels, which both came and went in 1922.

THROUGHOUT THE DECADES IN WHICH **JAZZ IN ITS MYRIAD FORMS** DOMINATED THE AMERICAN CULTURAL FIRMAMENT, THE **SINGLE NECESSARILY DROVE THE MUSIC BUSINESS.**

But for every flash in the pan imprint, presumably lacking necessary capital to ensure longevity, there are examples of labels that have survived, even thrived, for decades. Blue Note Records, a label formed by two German immigrants in 1939, emerged slowly and from modest origins. The label developed notoriety after World War II, featuring the bebop stylings of Dizzy Gillespie and releasing such landmark cuts as Thelonious Monk's iconoclastic 1947 side "Round Midnight."

If the existence of Blue Note, as some have suggested, is in itself a paean to the American dream, then it's instructive to examine exactly how Blue Note attained

success. In the early 1950s, the label was able to increase its number of recording dates dramatically. After a mere six recording dates in 1951, there were 15 in 1953 and 13 in 1954. The leaders involved included Bud Powell, Miles Davis, Art Blakey, Clifford Brown, and Sidney Bechet; such names spanned

styles ranging from cool to hot jazz, signaling Blue Note's intention to define the most American of all musical genres.

Blue Note held to its original recording formats—78s and the occasional 10-inch LP—but in 1954 took the unprecedented step of releasing its first 45 RPM seven-inch single, which featured drumming from the aforementioned Blakey. The switch to 45s was essential, reflecting the changing technology of jukeboxes and the phonographs of record buyers. By 1964, Blue Note began to find pop success with songs like trumpeter Lee Morgan's "Sidewinder"; most recently, the label struck pay dirt with 23-year-old chanteuse Norah Jones, who swept the most recent Grammy Awards.

Many music writers have speculated about the reasons for Jones's critical and popular success. To be sure, Jones is the first Blue Note artist to resonate so immediately with the average American. Her torch songs, in 2003, carry with them a patina of nostalgia unthinkable to jazz trailblazers like Miles Davis and John Coltrane (both of whom she has counted as formative influences, along with Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin, Billie Holiday, Stevie Wonder, Willie Nelson, Hank Williams, Johnny Cash, Dolly Parton, and Joni Mitchell). It's no great stretch to speculate that Jones became popular because her homages to the last century of American popular music were singularly unaffected and pure, in contrast to so much of its competition in the marketplace.

Investments and Retirement Planning



"Okay, this time we'll try it your way: 3% in stocks, 2% in bonds and 95% in lottery tickets."

In Their Own Words ...

"Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction." —Dick Cheney, "Meet the Press," 8/26/02

* * *

"We know where [weapons] are. They are in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south, and north of that."
—Donald Rumsfeld, "This Week," 3/30/03

* * *

"Hans Blix had five months to find weapons. He found nothing. We've had five weeks. Come back to me in five months. If we haven't found any, we will have a credibility problem."
—Charles Krauthammer, AEI, 4/22/03

* * *

"For those who say we haven't found the banned manufacturing devices or banned weapons, they're wrong, we found them."
—George W. Bush, Interview with TVP Poland, 5/30/03

* * *

"The Iraqi people understand what this crisis is about. Like the people of France in the 1940s, they view us as their hoped-for liberators."
—Paul Wolfowitz, CNN, 3/11/03

* * *

"This is really the overarching principle—the United States seeks to liberate Iraq, not occupy Iraq."
—Paul Wolfowitz, Speech to Iraqi-American Community, 2/23/03

* * *

"As long as we're here, we are the occupying power. It's a very ugly word, but it's true."
—L. Paul Bremer, *Washington Post*, 6/18/03

* * *

"When it comes to reconstruction, before we turn to the American taxpayer, we will turn first to the resources of the Iraqi government and the international community."
—Donald Rumsfeld, Congressional testimony, 3/27/03

* * *

"We're not dealing with Afghanistan, that's a permanent ward of the international community ... we are dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction."
—Paul Wolfowitz, Congressional testimony, 3/27/03

* * *

"Other countries will want to participate in reconstruction."
—Donald Rumsfeld, Congressional testimony, 3/27/03

* * *

"I think you'll begin to see the governmental process start next week, by the end of next week. It will have Iraqi faces on it. It will be governed by Iraqis."
—Jay Garner, Baghdad Press Conference, 4/24/03

* * *

"I'm not opposed to [self-rule], but I want to do it in a way that takes care of our concerns. ... [I]f you start holding elections, the people who are rejectionists tend to win ..."

—L. Paul Bremer, *Washington Post*, 6/28/03

Some involved in the critical backlash against Norah Jones have dismissed her work as so much pastiche, derivative of tradition without adding anything new of value. Those critics, however, may want to consider exactly what has become of the American popular song in the last decade or so.

If one listens to commercial radio in 2003, what does one hear? Interchangeable hip hop songs, produced by one of a handful of producers currently deemed to have the commercial touch. Pop-punk covers of Bryan Adams songs such as The Ataris' recent breakthrough rendition of "Summer of '69." Featured cuts from the soundtracks of risible, forgettable movies such as Puff Daddy's currently in vogue "Shake Your Tailfeather."

Those who attribute the untrammelled urge among Americans to acquire music via Internet filesharing to simple greed fail to understand that people would be more likely to buy music if they found it relevant. Most of the music out now is a product of one of a few holding companies, none of which has the investment in local music scenes that labels did for so much of the last century.

Perhaps the manner in which music is marketed leads to phenomena like the popularity of Norah Jones, the continual playing of Nirvana songs on "alternative" or "new" rock stations even a decade after the death of singer Kurt Cobain, and the encomia heaped on the oeuvre of Johnny Cash after his recent death.

Perhaps music fans in America realize that their music—for so long celebrative and conscious of America's many subcultures—has been homogenized and processed in such a way that it no longer belongs to the fans of the music, but to the companies who own the rights. If that is the case, then only one conclusion is possible: American music has nowhere to go but down. And for what it's worth, I don't expect to buy another CD single until someone else takes a stab at a Sun Ra composition. ■

Anthony Gancarski has written about music for numerous national publications, including URB and Spin.

The Decline of Candor



As some of you may remember, I got into a spot of bother a few months back, namely over the shooting of two black girls in Birmingham, England,

by black thugs whom I referred to as sons of black thugs and grandsons of black thugs. I wrote this in the *London Spectator*, and all hell broke loose.

An investigation was triggered by a complaint from Peter Herbert, a black lawyer and member of the Metropolitan Police Authority, the name the London fuzz goes by. In not so Merry Olde England, a busybody like Mr. Herbert can be both a practicing lawyer as well as a member of the police force. What got his Irish up was the following sentence: "Only a moron would not surmise that what politically correct newspapers refer to as disaffected young people are mostly black thugs. ..."

Six months later, Scotland Yard decided that I had not incited racial hatred, and thereby did not break the Public Order Act, for which I could have received two years in the pokey. Hooray! Herbert, in the meantime, has cried foul and is threatening further legal action. (An obviously racist decision by Scotland Yard.) What is amazing is that so much time and money have been spent by the authorities over my depiction of the perpetrators, rather than trying to bring the offenders to justice. (All eyewitnesses agreed that everyone involved in the gunfight was black.) In the meantime, the crime remains unsolved.

This is par for the course, at least in Europe, especially with black-on-black crime where witnesses are too intimidated to come forward, and the fuzz refuses to investigate the usual suspects

for fear of being brought up to the Yard's Diversity Directorate.

What I found surprising in my case was how the newspapers gloated that I might end up in jail for being politically incorrect. One would have thought the contrary, but the PC spirit of permanent inquisition has infected all walks of life, including the electronic media and the press.

Just as Scotland Yard was giving me a clean bill of health, yet another horrendous crime took place in London, this time involving a girl of just seven. (The two Birmingham victims were teenagers.) Two Jamaican heavies murdered a Jamaican drug dealer in his house, and as his daughter ran away screaming, they gunned her down from behind. I was in London at the time and sat down to write about the open-door policy the United Kingdom practices with Jamaica. Then I had second thoughts. Toni-Ann's father may have been a convicted crack dealer with connections to Yardie gangs (Jamaican thugs working out of the UK), but the fact that they were Afro-Caribbeans was bound to get me into trouble. So I did the cowardly thing and wrote about a society wedding. See what the PC Gestapo does? When in doubt, one writes about weddings rather than a murder of a seven-year-old.

Although matters are not as bad over this side of the pond, I am convinced that Euro-cowardice will eventually infect the powers that be over here. Racism is a loaded and fraudulent word,

convenient for race hustlers like Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson to shake down people and corporations.

Theirs is a growth industry. It is undeniable that Latino gangs are a result of an immigration policy gone haywire. As their numbers increase, they are replacing older black neighborhoods, but unlike the casual crime that went on in poor black areas, the Latino gangs play for keeps. They are extremely violent and are keen to expand their criminal operations. I predict great battles over turf and drugs, just as I predict total radio silence by the media as to the reasons that crime is on the rise.

And speaking of reasons why, the egregious Ted Kennedy, who sponsored the most destructive bill ever—the immigration bill of 1965 that made it more difficult for Europeans to immigrate to America and far easier for those from the Third World to come in—has gone on record praising Al Sharpton for having brought "more energy, a new insight in the issues facing the country ... and for educating America about what this country is really about and what its future should be. ..."

Really? Kennedy must be back on the sauce, or in the politically correct mode that is *de rigueur* among Washington insiders nowadays. Sharpton is a clown who has played the system for all it's worth and would have done time if it weren't for the color of his skin. Shame on Kennedy and shame on the Democratic candidates for standing on the same stage with him.

People like Kennedy make things worse. PC enforcers are doing more harm to race relations than Governor Wallace ever did, but I'll get to that on another day. ■



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